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ABSTRACT

Compiled for school administrators who must initiate or respond to external mandate for change, this guide draws on the experiences of 10 rural school districts that participated in the federally funded Experimental Schools (ES) program for perspectives that can be used in the successful management of change efforts in school districts. Organized around four areas of knowledge which administrators need in order to promote, guide, and survive changes, the booklet emphasizes the importance of understanding: (1) an accurate and realistic image of organizational settings: (2) the change process and its important stages: (3) the pitfalls and opportunities that previous efforts have revealed: and (4) ideas for designing strategies which can be effectively used in a particular local context. Discussions of case studies of the ES districts reveal how the change process unfolds and how conflicts can be resolved: outline an image for viewing change in educational organizations: and offer specific guidelines for approaching change in small school districts. (JD)

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Promoting, Guiding, and Surviving Change in School Districts

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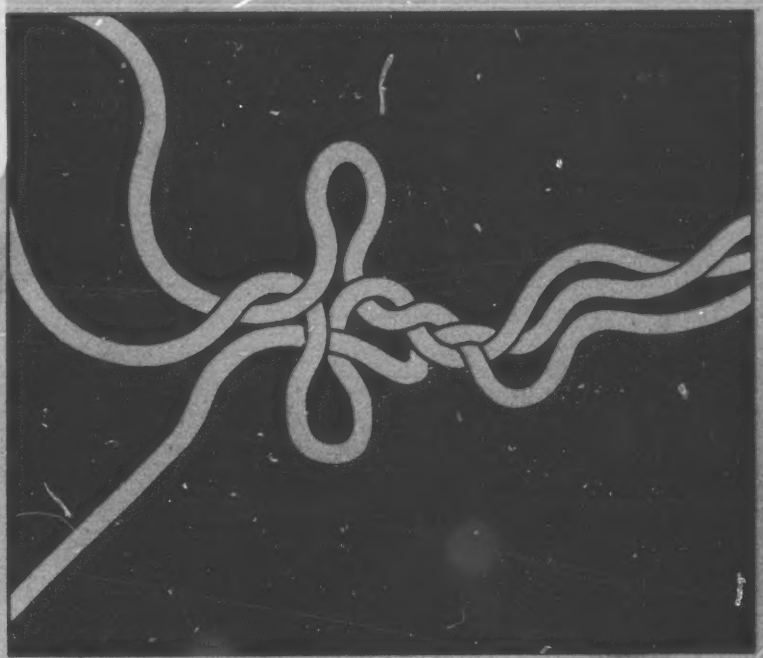

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PROMOTING, GUIDING, AND SURVIVING CHANGE IN SCHOOL DISTRICTS

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June 1979

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PREFACE

This booklet is for school administrators. It provides a perspective for viewing the process of change in school districts based on studies of ten rural school districts that participated in the federally funded Experimental Schools program. For five years (1972-77), administrators (and others) in these ten small districts grappled with the problems accompanying efforts to make significant changes in several aspects of schooling. Their efforts were carefully scrutinized by a research team from Abt Associates in Cambridge, Massachusetts; on-site researchers documented successes and failures, while more systematic cross-site analyses of formal questionnaire and interview responses probed for common patterns that fostered or impeded change.

We were commissioned by Abt Associates to read their case studies and research reports, totaling some 2500 pages.[1] Our charge was to distill the experiences of the ES districts as reported in the Abt documents into a form that could guide other administrative endeavors to initiate or to respond to external mandate for change. While the case studies and cross-site research results provided a rich and extensive base, our own individual experiences and biases undoubtedly played a significant role in determining which of the many events were singled out. In addition, gaps in the data often were filled by our inferences and interpretations to yield guidelines for administrative practice.

The process of interweaving research results with our own experiences and ideas was a joint venture which lasted for three months. To this process the two of us brought very different perspectives. Sam Nutt was the project director of the Experimental Schools project in Timber River and, at the time we wrote the manuscript, was an Ed.D. candidate at Harvard's Graduate School of Education. He is now Assistant Superintendent of the West Linn School District in Oregon. Terry Deal administered two experimental programs in secondary schools, has written books and articles on the subject of change in educational organizations, and is presently Associate Professor at Harvard's Graduate School of Education.

Both of us read the eight case studies, one of the cross-site reports, and interpretations of the Experimental Schools project from a variety of different perspectives. We independently prepared notes and identified key issues. Together we engaged in a series of intensive discussions lasting from five to six hours a day over a period of four weeks. These discussions produced a general theme, some tentative guidelines, and some specific issues, which were incorporated into an outline. Each of us took responsibility for drafting specific sections and for reviewing one another's work. Other individuals examining the same case studies would no doubt find other issues more important or would interpret similar issues differently. Such limitations accompany any attempt to extract issues and guidelines from mountains of information designed to capture complex processes in a variety of unique settings.

[1] See Robert E. Herriott, *Federal Initiatives and Rural School Improvement: Findings from the Experimental Schools Program*, Appendix A (Cambridge, Mass: Abt Associates Inc., 1979) for an annotated bibliography of all project reports.

This product of our efforts is not a how-to-do-it manual, nor a set of prescriptive steps for approaching the difficult task of changing schools. Rather it provides administrators with an image (or model) of school organizations that can be of help in anticipating problems and developing strategies for making things better—instead of worse. This organizational image emerged from the case studies and, we believe, provides a useful and realistic "frame" for understanding school districts as they undergo planned change. While the perspective is grounded in case studies of small rural school districts, we believe that it can be more widely applied.

Administrators in a variety of settings should find this volume useful in simplifying and mapping local change efforts. Knowing the right questions to ask and being able to identify key pitfalls and opportunities can help to eliminate confusion, reduce tension, and increase the likelihood of successful change without needlessly disrupting the local district or community.

Several people have contributed to our effort. At Abt, Robert E. Herriott gave us the opportunity and served throughout the process as an invaluable critic, colleague, and source of support. Nancy Brigham and Sheila Rosenblum provided helpful comments and suggestions, both at the beginning of the project and midway through it. Mary Schumacher contributed ideas, smoothed the prose, and, expecially toward the end, provided administrative support and helpful prodding in meeting important deadlines.

From the field of educational administration, five individuals reviewed our work and provided important substantive and editorial comments: Robert Cole, Jr., Managing Editor of *Phi Delta Kappan;* Dealous Cox, Superintendent of Schools in West Linn, Oregon; Henry Hohn, an elementary school principal in Mason, Texas; Robert King, Superintendent of Schools in Meeker, Colorado; and Robert Shafto, Director of the Maine Facilitator Center.

An additional practitioner perspective was provided by members of the administrative team of Maine's Manchester, Mount Vernon, Readfield, Wayne Community School District: Millard Harrison, Superintendent; Forrest Yate, Elementary Principal; Robert Ireland, High School Administrator; Carol Smith, Junior High Administrator; and Winnifred McPhedram, Health Education Project Director.

At Harvard, Sarah Levine and Roger Goodson gave us valuable insights and leads. Elizabeth O'Meara typed manuscripts and made helpful editorial suggestions.

At home, Sandy Deal and Pauline Nutt provided insightful suggestions on the manuscript and tolerated the ups and downs as the two of us moved along.

As the draft moved into the final stages, several individuals provided helpful criticisms and ideas. Philip Runkel of the Center for Educational Policy and Management (University of Oregon) provided his typically thorough and wise counsel. Sharon F. Rallis of Harvard's Graduate School of Education offered some important suggestions for how the manuscript could be more useful for practitioners.

The federal government, of course, provided funds and other support. At NIE, Mike Kane, Assistant Director of NIE in the Division for Dissemination and the Improvement of Practice, drafted a prospectus for the project, which guided our early thinking. John Egermeier, the

contract's Project Officer, synthesized and communicated NIE's review of the work, and Tom Schultz provided helpful written feedback. Thel Kocher and Virginia Kaylor suggested a number of versions for tailoring the document to the intended audience.

Finally, the authors of the eight case studies—Allan F. Burns, Charles A. Clinton, Carol Pierce Colfer, A. Michael Colfer, William L. Donnelly, William A. Firestone, Lawrence Hennigh, Donald A. Messerschmidt, and Charles I. Stannard—provided the raw material that made the synthesis possible. The cross-site analysis of Sheila Rosenblum and Karen Seashore Louis provided a general analytic view that we were able to incorporate. Throughout the volume, these peoples' observations, ideas, and interpretations are liberally sprinkled. For the most part, we tried to credit their insights, but we also wish to acknowledge more generally their contribution to our work.

Cambridge, Mass.
June 1979

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CHAPTER ONE

CHANGE IN SCHOOL DISTRICTS: PROBLEMS, PRESSURES, AND STRATEGIES

To educational administrators in large urban settings, the problems facing small rural districts may appear simple and manageable. In small districts, complex educational bureaucracies or diverse ethnic and cultural constituencies are often absent, and the advantages of clean air, mountain streams, and open space are often close at hand. Such conditions may seem particularly serene to administrators in metropolitan areas who face the formal red-tape of a large system, along with conflicting parental and community demands, racial conflict among students, and urban sprawl.

But, before one concludes that small school district administrators have the better of it, other facts must be considered:

- School revenue figures suggest that residents of rural areas are less willing or less able to pay for school services than are urban residents. An average of 44% of the revenues for rural public school operation came from local sources during 1972-73, as compared with over 56% for suburban and 54% for central city schools.
- Rural school systems consistently maintain fewer personnel supporting instruction than do their central city or suburban counterparts. For example, only 27% of the rural schools systems had supervisors of instruction in 1971 as compared with 97% of the central city systems. Similar comparisons for psychologists indicate 7% (rural) vs. 76% (central city); for librarians, 58% vs. 98%; for AV specialists, 7.2% vs. 42%; for teacher aides, 51% vs. 93%; and for guidance counselors, 50% vs. 94%.
- Rural school systems provided fewer pre-kindergarten, kindergarten, and special education programs than did urban school systems, and they had more elementary and secondary schools without libraries in 1971.

These figures indicate that administrators who manage small rural schools are likely to have fewer resources and smaller support staffs, and therefore have less organizational slack to deal with demands for school improvement than do their counterparts in more urban settings.

There is, however, no indication that pressures for change are similarly less intense in small districts. Spiraling costs, shrinking resources, and declining enrollments create a pressure to consolidate rural schools and reduce the number of teaching or administrative personnel. State reform movements require competency testing, mainstreaming of handicapped students, and teacher evaluation procedures. Judicial bodies mandate changes with respect to segregation or other issues that fall within their jurisdiction. Community expectations—shifting between humanistic concerns and a return to the basics—create confusing signals. Federal programs provide incentives for innovative programs (Title IV-C), attempt to rectify social injustices and inequities (Title IX), and flood school districts with an endless stream of paperwork. From the professional community of teachers and administrators (even professors), new approaches and practices emerge that are purported to be superior to time-worn, standard operating procedures. School-based management, community participation, personalized instruction, the concept of learning-disabled students, and behavioral modification approaches to discipline are among the countless ideas advocated by

professionals. Add to these initiatives the daily complaints of parents and students, implying that "things are somehow not as they should be," and the sum of pressures that signal the need for change must seem enormous to those who administer small school districts.

The image of a small school administrator who breathes fresh air, fly fishes in crystal-clear streams, and strolls leisurely through pine-studded open spaces is more fantasy than reality. A more accurate image is that of someone buffeted between the demands for improvement in services and the constraints of limited resources (time, personnel, money). The assumption that such pressures are more intense in large urban districts can provide little comfort. Administrators in small rural districts, wealthy suburban districts, or large urban districts share a number of the problems surrounding change, even though certain aspects of their experience may be different.

Pressures for change in school districts—whether they be rural, suburban, or urban—share several important characteristics. They usually come from federal or state governments, professional or academic organizations, or the local community. But they vary in intensity: some are mandated, others are encouraged through financial or other incentives, while still others are strictly optional. The message of federal Title IX guidelines requiring equal educational opportunity for both sexes in schools receiving federal funds, for example, is different from that of a state-initiated Title IV request for proposals from local districts for innovative instructional programs. The first is a mandatory federal pressure; the second represents a state's encouragement of change. While many such pressures for change originating from state and federal sources are mandatory and appear as laws and regulations, pressures from professional organizations—in the form of new ideas or practices—are, by contrast, usually more subtle forms of collegial persuasion until they become more formalized in federal or state guidelines. But such "ideas in good currency" as individualized instruction, diagnosis and prescription, mainstreaming handicapped students, program planning and budgeting systems (PPBS) provide subtle guidelines for what schools ought to be doing long before they become changes required by law or regulation.

In addition to having different sources and intensities, pressures for change may have different targets, such as teaching goals, curriculum, administrative structure or procedures, instructional processes, staffing patterns, or school-community relations. Targets can be further differentiated by level: classroom, school, and district. The various characteristics of the pressures for change impinging on school systems may further determine the variety of problems or issues involved in implementing changes. For example, the dynamics involved in a state-mandated effort to change the staffing patterns of classrooms may differ considerably from those of a locally created teacher center established to provide a wide range of curricular services to teachers. Similarly, the initiative of a local superintendent to require each school to develop specific goals and objectives may create problems that are very different from those generated through a federal mandate requiring the mainstreaming of handicapped students into individual classrooms.

In sum, pressures for change can originate from either external or internal sources, and they can be subtle and optional or explicit and required. Changes can be aimed at any level (classroom, school, or district) and planned for any aspect of a particular level (goals, instructional practices, administrative structures or procedures, or inter-personal relationships).

PITFALLS OF CHANGE

Although change is a regular part of life in most educational organizations, specific projects differ considerably. Across different projects, however, there is one common theme: changing organizations is difficult and usually painful. Past efforts have documented many of the pitfalls. Using history as a guide, most administrators who are involved in changing schools or will soon be can anticipate some (or all) of the following headaches:

- The introduction of change may create or intensify conflict among students, teachers, and administrators.
- The morale of many administrators or teachers may drop, and some may leave—voluntarily or otherwise.
- Conflict may intensify between the local community—parents or residents—and the district or school. Community members will become more vocal, and attendance at school board meetings may increase.
- The willingness of the local community to support schools may wane, and tax and bond levies will likely be defeated.
- The change may not be implemented as planned, and is likely to fall considerably short of the intended mark even though some unintended consequences may result.

Such problems accompany most efforts to change schools and often undermine profits that might produce desired payoffs if given more time. Problems can be exacerbated or reduced by the nature of the specific project. Mandated efforts to change several aspects of a district will obviously create more problems than do voluntary efforts by one or two teachers to alter classroom practices. But even voluntary, localized changes often run into difficulties. One well-documented situation—an effort to make classroom instruction more child-centered—was stimulated by local initiative, staffed by volunteers, and universally supported in the beginning. But although conditions for its launching were almost ideal, the project encountered many of the typical problems and fell considerably short of initial expectations.[2]

In small school districts like the ten participating in the Experimental School Program, the problems of change may be lessened by smaller size and greater manageability. At the same time, small school districts usually exist in small, close-knit communities, where strong informal ties among teachers, parents, and residents can spread stories that quickly transform a relative minor switch in classroom procedures to a marked departure from desired disciplinary standards encouraged by lax administration.[3]

Similarly, schools in small, rural communities serve several important functions: they are sources of community pride (athletic teams and bands), they are sources of entertainment and social cohesion (adult education classes and celebrations), and they provide an accessible arena for debating general community concerns and issues (federal interference, local control and autonomy, or divisions between various factions or interest groups within the local community). In small school districts, changes in some aspect of the district or of a school or classroom can easily be interpreted as undermining local pride or interfering with events that provide local entertainment, or can themselves become the object of community attention or controversy. Finally, efforts to implement change in small school districts often suffer from the absence of specialized staff or easy access to external resources.

But, while the unique characteristics of small school districts may influence the course of change, many of the same problems will arise in suburban or urban districts. Changing schools inevitably involves conflict and problems. Consequently, administrators contemplating change in any school district—irrespective of its location or setting—may first wish to consider these questions:

- What are the long-term benefits to be derived from the change?
- What are the costs in money, time, and confusion that the change entails?
- Am I (and the district or school) prepared to experience conflict and uncertainty in order to secure these benefits?
- What problems or conflicts will the particular change most likely produce?
- Will the possible short-term costs-staff turnover, reductions in community support—severely affect the district or school in the long run?
- Will potential long-term benefits justify the possible costs?

Since adminsitrators play a key role in change as initiators, inspirators, stabilizers, jugglers, conflict managers, brokers, and arbiters, they also need to give thought to their role in the change process by asking:

- Which administrator roles are appropriate in various settings and at various stages in the change process?
- Which problems of changing schools can be controlled by administrative action?
- Which problems are administrators unable to control?
- What strategies can be designed to plan and implement change with a minimum of conflict and disruption?

AVENUES FOR SUCCESSFUL CHANGE

A wide variety of materials and suggestions are available to administrators who are grappling with the problems of change. Some of these advocate specific suggestions for how to do it, what to do, and what to avoid, while others outline specific models or processes that can be used in planning and implementing change.

While these materials and suggestions are often useful and helpful, they have several drawbacks: materials and suggestions are often inappropriate for a particular local setting; change models sometimes oversimplify or ignore important events that can cause unanticipated problems; and suggestions either emphasize factors that the administrators cannot control or call for skills that they have not acquired.

This volume highlights four important administrative needs for successfully approaching change in school districts.

First, administrators need to understand how educational organizations work. The structure of educational organizations is different from that of those in other industries. For the most part, schools have independent spheres or zones of activity that are loosely connected with one another. Activity in educational organizations is also unique. Because goals are unclear and it is difficult to link activities and outcomes, relationships and processes in schools are often nonrational and political, and thus difficult to predict.

Second, administrators need to understand the process of change. Efforts to change any organization generally proceed through a series of stages. In an *initiation* stage, a need is recognized or an opportunity is identified. If resources are obtained, the change effort moves to a *planning* stage where key actors are identified, input is obtained, problems are crystallized, directions are established, and some agreements are reached among internal participants, the local community, and external agencies concerning subsequent stages. In the *implementation* stage, plans move from the drawing board into action. After a preliminary test, some ideas that survive the conflict over the established versus the novel become incorporated as part of a new reality. In any of the stages, problems arise that can jeopardize the central momentum. Change perceived as opportunism rather than as a response to local problems can create difficulties of legitimation in the initial stage. Suppressed conflicts and token agreements can frustrate planning. Ambiguous plans, disagreement among key participants, and conflicts among various interest groups can undermine implementation. In addition, poorly conceived compromises in the initiation or planning stages can produce unanticipated problems as the changes are implemented.

Third, administrators need to be familiar with other change efforts. In many situations, past efforts have uncovered a number of recurring pitfalls or barriers to change as well as opportunities that, if recognized and seized, can facilitate change. Case studies of change covering a wide variety of conditions have illuminated administrative strategies that occasionally work and have identified others that usually fail.

Fourth, administrators need guidelines that can be used to apply past lessons and general principles to specific change projects. General guidelines can sensitize administrators to what is useful and what should be avoided in approaching changes. But specific conditions all create unique demands, and administrators need to understand both general principles and specific issues—as well as the guidelines for balancing the two.

In sum, administrators who wish to approach change with some assurance of success will entertain the following questions:

- What ideas of school organization underlie my approaches to administration and change? Do these ideas help me to understand or to predict everyday occurrences, or am I often surprised? Are my ideas illuminating, or do they often obscure day-to-day events?
- Have I a general understanding of how various changes or innovations unfold? Do I know the dynamics involved in promoting, planning, implementing, or routinizing change? From my experience or reading, do I know the implications of decisions in one phase for events in others?
- Am I familiar with past change efforts? Have I talked with other administrators about their experiences with change? Am I familiar with past strategies that consistently appear to create new problems and difficulties and thus should be avoided?
- Do I see specific steps by which general principles and past lessons might be applied to my efforts to change various aspects of districts, schools, or classrooms?

THE EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS PROGRAM

One excellent opportunity for administrators to learn more about change in school districts is provided by studies of the ten small rural school districts that participated in the

Experimental Schools (ES) program. Although these districts were small and rural, many of the issues and lessons to be learned are applicable to urban and suburban districts as well as to those of comparable location or size. The Experimental Schools program was created by the U.S. Office of Education in 1970 to address a concern that previous efforts to change schools had not worked because of their piecemeal approach. By contrast, the Experimental Schools program encouraged comprehensive change in schools districts and, in some respects, eliminated many of the problems that frustrated earlier efforts. It provided ample monetary resources. It required that all aspects of districts—curriculum, instruction, time, space, facilities, governance, and citizen participation—be transformed simultaneously. It provided a year for communities to plan their own individual projects. Finally, it promised support for a locally controlled project tailored to the unique problems and needs of each district and community involved. In the minds of many policy makers and administrators, this approach provided all the necessary ingredients for capturing the elusive prize—major change in the American school system.

The announcement of a grants competition was sent initially to all school districts in the country. Responses to this first announcement produced a series of planning grants—all of which were awarded to large urban school districts. However, a later announcement was targeted solely to 7500 small school districts in the country—those with enrollments of fewer than 2500 students.

To many administrators working in these small school districts, the announcement was the answer to their prayers: substantial, long-term funding to create an ideal educational system. The only apparent string attached was that the changes be comprehensive, that is, to involve all important aspects of the district. But to create an ideal system, a major overhaul would be necessary anyway.

The announcement elicited letters of interest from 319 small districts. On the basis of initial screening, site visits, and geographical considerations, ten sites were selected to participate in the program. Six promptly received full five-year commitments. Four received conditional commitments for one year of planning activities, which were then followed by five years of additional funding. The ten sites were geographically dispersed (see Figure 1) and represented a cross-section of small school districts (see Appendix A for site descriptions).

In addition to the federal dollars given directly to districts for planning and implementing comprehensive change, the Experimental Schools program commissioned a large-scale research study, the contract for which was awarded to Abt Associates, Inc. of Cambridge, Massachusetts. The purpose of the research was to document the experiences of each school district and to pinpoint factors across districts that facilitated or impeded progress toward comprehensive change. Trained anthropoligists or sociologists were assigned as on-site observers to all ten districts and spent over three years observing events and gathering information. In addition, questionnaires were completed by teachers, administrators, on-site researchers and others. The resulting case studies and longitudinal analysis, which document the impact of the ES program on local communities and on student achievement, as well as of strategies that administrators used to address the problems of planning and implementing large-scale change projects in small rural communities.

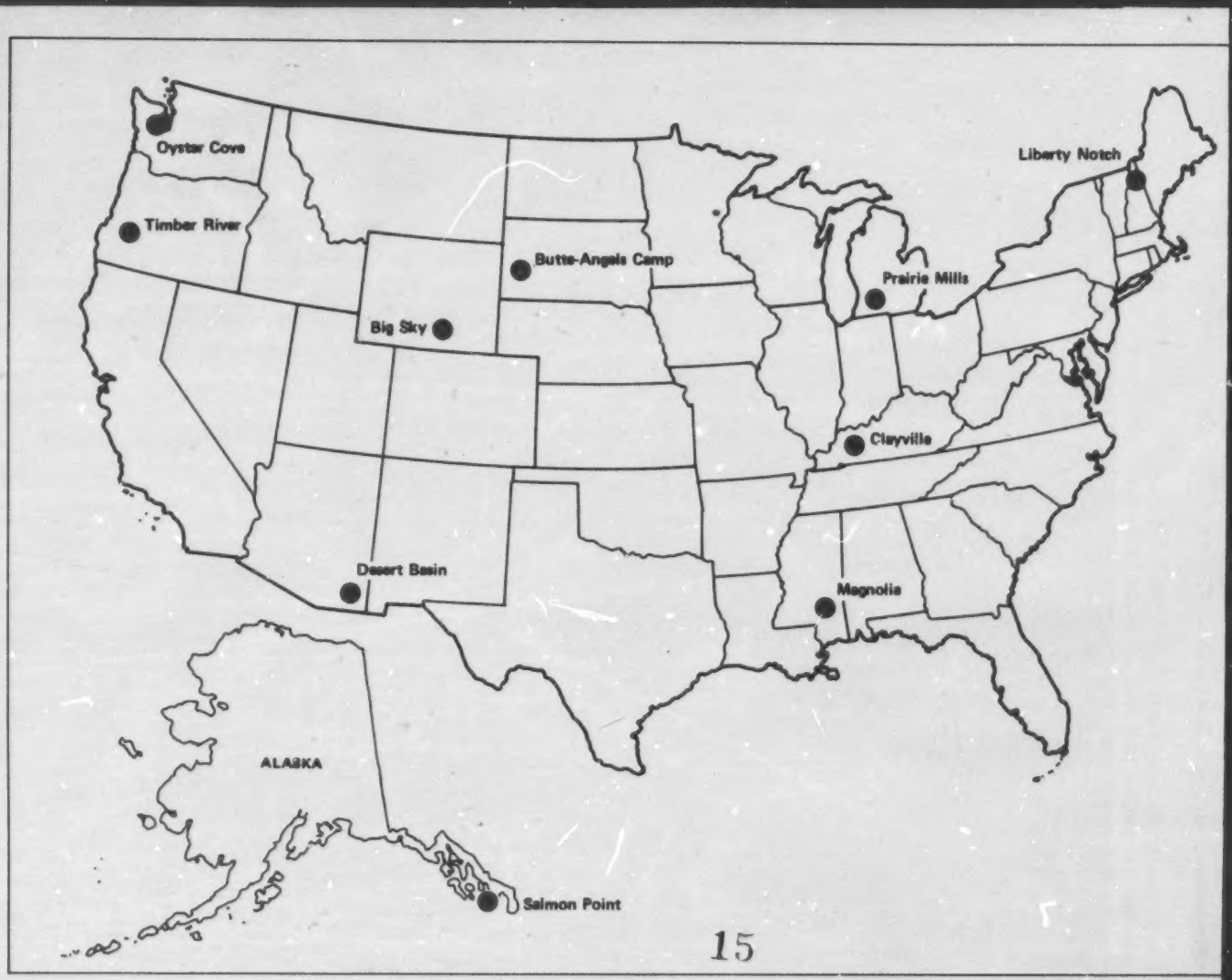


Figure 1. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATIONS OF THE TEN SCHOOL DISTRICTS PARTICIPATING IN THE RURAL ES PROGRAM

DEVELOPING GUIDELINES FROM RESEARCH STUDIES OF EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS

The purpose of this booklet is to distill from the results of Abt Associates' research some guidelines for administrators who are now, or will be, managing change efforts in school districts. The guidelines are especially relevant to administrators in small school districts. But, we suspect that the same ideas can be used to guide administrative action in changing districts or schools in urban or suburban areas. The guidelines are organized around four areas of knowledge that administrators need to understand in order to promote, guide, and survive changes successfully. To review, the four areas are: (1) an accurate and realistic image of organizational settings, (2) an image of the change process that includes important stages, (3) a knowledge of the pitfalls and opportunities that previous efforts have witnessed, and (4) some ideas for designing strategies that can be effectively applied to a particular local context.

The ideas and guidelines contained in this volume were extracted from three principal sources: case studies of eight of the ten districts that participated in the ES program,[3] a report analyzing questionnaire and interview responses from teachers and administrators across all ten sites,[4] and a book containing chapter-length versions of five of the case studies and interpretations by several leading social scientists and practitioners.[5]

As we read through the case studies and tried to extract common principles, an image of school organizations began to coalesce.

This booklet highlights the importance of administrative "images"[6] of local organization and of the process of change, drawing from accounts of surprising events that occurred or issues that arose as administrators planned and implemented their ES projects. Strategies developed to make things better often made things worse. Effective strategies—where they existed—often evolved naturally as a result of random events rather than through conscious administrative design.

We believe that, if administrators approach various types of change with realistic images in mind, they will be able to predict more accurately how events will unfold, and, therefore, to launch strategies that differ significantly from those used in the ES districts—or to capitalize on important natural events. We are confident that these strategies may prove effective in reducing problems and increasing the likelihood that future changes will be implemented and sustained, and that the perspective on schools and change that emerged from our deliberations is applicable across districts and schools in urban and suburban settings alike.

The remaining chapters turn to the case studies of the Experimental Schools districts to describe how the change process unfolded, synthesize from these experiences and image for viewing changes in educational organizations, and provide some guidelines for administrators who may find this perspective helpful in approaching change and its attendant problems in a specific setting.

Chapter 2– "Planning and Implementing Change in Experimental Schools Districts: Suprises, Diplomacy, and Conflict" outlines the central tasks and activities involved in planning and implementing change in the ten ES projects. As participants came together during the planning process, conflicts began to develop. For the most part, these conflicts were avoided or smoothed over. As plans moved into action, suppressed conflicts began to surface and undercut the central tasks and activities necessary for moving the ES plans from

blueprint to action. Illustrations from ES districts highlights the pervasiveness of conflict and the relationship between how conflict was resolved and the eventual outcomes of the projects.

Chapter 3– "Organizational Images and Change" provides a perspective for looking at change in school districts, one that evolved from the case studies and emphasizes that school districts and schools are negotiated confederations among separate zones of interests and activity. This image differs from perspectives that characterize educational organizations as closely knit systems or as social collectives of individual personalities. Change is viewed as a process of distinct (yet overlapping) *stages* of planning (including initiation or mobilization activities), implementation, and continuation. The notion of the interrelation of stages is important because administrative strategies chosen at one stage may affect those of another. As changes are planned and implemented in schools or districts, the balance among the zones is upset, and conflict results. Appropriate handling of such conflict provides one key to successful change.

Chapter 4–"Guidelines for Approaching Change in Small School Districts" is intended to guide administrators in applying the zone image of school organizations to other change projects. The chapter provides guidelines for mapping the zones in a local district and for anticipating the issues that may arise in planning and implementing a specific change project. The chapter emphasizes the importance of creating arenas for negotiating the conflicts that inevitably arise among and within zones as change takes place. Finally, some specific guidelines for planning and implementation change are outlined.

RESOURCES FOR FURTHER READING

Bentzen, Mary M. and Associates, *Changing Schools: The Magic Feather Principle.* McGraw-Hill, New York, 1974.

This volume identifies the successes and failures of an intervention strategy developed by John Goodlad and his colleagues at UCLA known as "The League of Cooperating Schools," which involved a consortium of principals and their schools. Details the staff development process used during the school improvement effort, depicts the crises the consortium faced, and outlines the DDAE (dialogue/decision-making/action/evaluation) process through which problems were attacked. Emphasizes the self-renewing capacity of schools and the help that practitioners can offer each other.

Baldridge, J. Victor and Terrence E. Deal (eds), *Managing Change in Educational Organization: Sociological Perspectives, Strategies, and Case Studies.* McCutchan Publishing Corporation, Berkeley, California, 1975.

Provides a compilation of readings from social science research focused on problems practitioners experience during attempts to improve schools. The introductory section emphasizes the characteristics of schools and highlights features that distinguish education institutions as complex social systems. Section two illustrates a variety of strategies that change agents have employed to improve school effectiveness. The final section provides a series of case studies documenting the successes and failures of a variety of improvement efforts in diverse educational settings.

Charters, W.W., Jr., et al., *The Process of Planned Changed in the School's Instructional Organization.* Eugene, Or., University of Oregon, 1973.

This volume illustrates problems experienced by administrators and teachers during attempts to plan and implement differentiated staffing patterns in a variety of elementary and secondary schools. Case studies as well as analyses of the significant barriers to successful planning and implementation are provided.

Runkel, Philip J., Richard A. Schmuck, et at., *Transforming Problems in Urban Schools into a Capacity for Solving Problems.* A product of the project on A Documentation and Technical Assistance in Urban Schools, DTA. Eugene, Oregon: Center for Educational Policy and Management, September 1978.

Sarason, Seymour S., *The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change.* Allyn and Bacon, Boston, 1971.

Discusses the difficulty of implementing change in schools based on the author's experience with "new math" and other curricular changes. Argues that changes that originate in the external environment focus on individual participants often fail to appreciate the power of particular "behavioral regularities" that sustain the culture of the school and the meaning it has for the participant. Documents some of the unintended consequences of innovation that originate outside schools and are imposed on it by outside organizations and institutions.

CHAPTER NOTES

1. These findings have been abstracted from Fratoe (1978).

2. For the details of this insightful case study, see Gross, Giacquinta and Bernstein (1971).

3. Burns (1979), Clinton (1977), Colfer and Colfer (1977), Donnelly (1978), Firestone (1977), Hennigh (1978), Messerschmidt (1978) and Stannard (1979).

4. Herriott and Gross (1979).

5. Rosenblum and Louis (1978).

6. We wish to acknowledge our interaction with William A. Firestone in crystallizing the idea of organizational image. In a forthcoming paper (Research for Better Schools) Firestone outlines several images that may be used to look at organizations.

CHAPTER TWO

PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTING CHANGE IN EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS DISTRICTS: SURPRISES, DIPLOMACY, AND CONFLICT

The stories of the ten school districts undertaking a mission of major change reflect the unique characteristics of the settings in which the dramas were played out. But, in three areas at least, the stories have a common ring, which may suggest to administrators what might be done differently as other similar dramas are created in response to contemporary pressures for change.

First, administrators frequently were caught off guard when the script they had in mind seemed different from the lines that other actors delivered. Second, the anticipated joys of planning began to wane once the cast was assembled and everyone began to see that each had a different idea of what the play was supposed to be. As planning moved along, differences were buried in the eloquent lines of the script, and the director took an increasingly strong role in interpreting and determining what the main plot would be.

Third, as the drama began to unfold, it was very clear that individual actors continued to hold very different ideas of the script, that they were determined to carry off their act as they saw it, that the director had no real power over either the actors' guild or the audience, that the patron was not sure what they had commissioned or why, and the drama that everyone had anticipated was quickly becoming either a comedy or a tragedy—no one was sure which. Finally the squabbles and struggles began to take on a life of their own, resulting in the ten districts becoming stages on which actors, audience, sponsor, director, set manager, and others participated in a five-year skit.

Describing these three common patterns—surprises, planning, and implementation—in the ten school districts is the focus of this chapter.

SURPRISES IN PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTING CHANGE

The ten districts selected for participation in the ES program received federal funding for a somewhat amorphous yet awesome task—planning and implementing comprehensive change (see appendix A for specific descriptions). Federal money was to be used to develop a plan and, over an extended period of time, to use the plan as a basis for making significant alterations in instruction, governance, community relationships, and other parts of the district and its schools.

The stages of the process of planning and implementing change in the ten ES districts are depicted in Figure 2, where it is apparent that, although planning activities were heavily emphasized in the initial year of the five-year effort, certain implementation activities were concurrently under way in many districts. In the next four years, the emphasis shifted to putting plans into action. Even so, some level of planning activity persisted throughout the life of each project. Two main points are illustrated in the figure: planning and implementation are distinct stages in a change process; yet they also overlap.

During both stages, administrators were frequently caught off guard or surprised as events unfolded contrary to their expectations. In many cases, the discrepency between

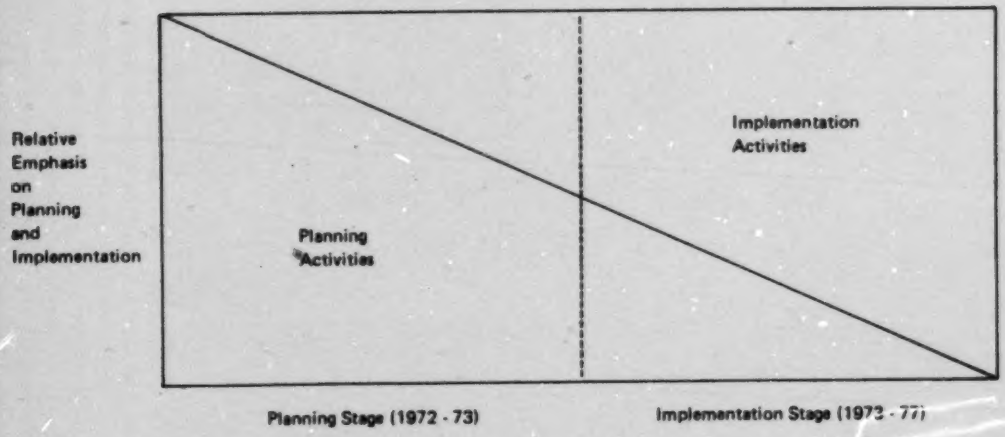

Relative Emphasis on Planning and Implementation
Implementation Activities
Planning Activities
Planning Stage (1972 - 73)
Implementation Stage (1973 - 77)

Figure 2. Planning and Implementing Change in ES Schools (adapted from Miles, 1976)

expectations and actual events occurred either because administrators failed to accurately map the various constituencies and to anticipate their reactions, or because they failed to forecast important connections between the stages of change.

In Timber River, for example, the school district had been involved in a major improvement effort for five years prior to the announcement of the ES competition by the U.S. Office of Education. The superintendent saw the additional federal resources as a way of moving beyond mere improvement to a lighthouse school district. He and two of his district administrators drafted the initial letter of interest. That letter and subsequent negotiations secured award of $1.2 million for the district. When the administration announced the award to the faculty at an orientation meeting opening the 1973 school year, expecting that it would be met with approval and enthusiasm, one faculty member stood up, pointed his finger at the superintendent, and shouted, "You dared to make such a decision without consulting the faculty?"[1]

In retrospect, this event makes sense. For five years administrators had pushed teachers to make needed changes in instructional approaches, changes that were strongly supported by the local community and made without significant internal or external conflict. In the course of the administration's extended pressure on teachers, however, some implicit understandings had developed. In the year of the ES grant award, teachers were anticipating that they would have at least a year of rest, free of administrative pressure. The new grant was thus viewed as another potential intrusion by the administration.

An important lesson to be gleaned from this experience is that the history of a school district and the existing relationships among teachers, administrators, and parents or local residents—often subtle and implicit—can greatly influence how a new project is initially received. If administrators don't assess the history existing understandings and relationships before initiating change, they may be caught off guard by the reaction.

In Clayville, for example, a consultant assumed that a workshop designed to attract teachers to diagnostic-prescriptive instruction would be well-received by teachers. To teachers, however, the event represented a potential encroachment by the administration on their turf. (The consultant had been retained by the superintendent). The consultant's optimism was based on an assumption that agreements that had been reached during the planning stage of the project would carry over as the plans were implemented. During the workshop, teachers began to complain about the ES project and then virtually ignored the consultant until he finally remarked, "I came here assuming that everyone was complying with the agreement we made last August. One thing I learned tonight is to make sure that I know what is going on before I made a damned fool of myself."[2]

Two faulty assumptions contributed to this event. The first was that administrators can encroach upon teachers' turf. In this case the consultant, clearly aligned with administrators, violated boundaries by attempting to influence how teachers teach. The second faulty assumption was that agreements reached during the planning stage remain mutually binding as proposed innovations begin to be implemented. In fact, agreements reached during planning are often vague and amorphous, so each group or constituency interprets agreements through the frame of its own interests. While vague agreements reduce or suppress conflict during planning, the conflicts surface during implementation when reaction to tangible events underscore the existing differences among various groups.

A contingent from Butte-Angels Camp was surprised by the treatment given them by representatives of ES Washington when they negotiated their final contract. The group expected a routine meeting to clarify details and to fix the final dollar amount of the contract. Instead, they were subjected to abrasive questioning about minute details of their plan. One board member from Butte-Angels Camp was reduced to tears as a result of being grilled about some technical jargon buried in the plan. Following the session, the district superintendent and a counselor who had accompanied the group worked most of the night to revise the plan.[3]

Here again, failure to anticipate the divergent interests of constituencies resulted in a surprise. The group from Butte-Angels Camp naively anticipated that the federal government would abide by agreements announced early in the ES project when, in fact, there had been a unilateral shift at the federal level that redefined the relationship between the Experimental Schools Program and local districts. The ES staff in Washington had established more stringent requirements for district plans and had abrogated previous constraints governing their influence over the development of the final plan. During the course of such a change effort, realignments between the levels are inevitable, and failure to assess the realignments accurately will product conflicts between the sponsoring agency and the local district.

A final example from Timber River illustrates how administrators can be thrown off balance by unanticipated changes in the relationship between the teachers and the local community. One of the major thrusts of the ES program in Timber River was to involve parents in the school, but issues began to develop around implicit agreements governing relations between the two groups. Problems between teachers and community aides or volunteers moved into wider community forums. Parent volunteers "leaked" confidential information to other residents, and some residents began to wonder why, "if housewives can run the schools, should we pay teachers such high salaries?" In reaction, the teachers began to solidify territorial boundaries against the local community.[4]

As local residents began to intrude on the teachers' turf, conflicts developed between teachers and aides. In addition, representatives from the local community were now privy to internal information—"secrets"—and the sharing of this informaiton with other residents began to undermine the implicit assumption that classrooms are immune to local community intrusions as long as things are running smoothly.

Each of these examples illustrates the kinds of surprises that administrators experienced in planning and implementing their ES projects. Most resulted from images of schools or of the change process that did not fit the realities of the situation. Existing alignments between constituencies, intrusions of one group on the territory of another, failure of administrators, teachers, or parents to meet obligations, abrogations of existing agreements, important differences among constituences not addressed in the planning stage, and the conflict of interests that inevitably surface in implementation all produce important problems during the course of change. Anticipating these issues in advance may help administrators to minimize surprises and to avoid eliciting reactions that could undermine the effort.

PLANNING CHANGE: ACTIVITIES AND ISSUES

Effective planning involves a relatively rational set of activities, although there is no prescribed sequence for those activities. In fact, in certain projects, some activities may even be omitted. But as organizations plan, the following activities are often observable:

- Determining needs.
- Identifying opportunities and obtaining resources.
- Deciding who the planners (representatives from various zones) will be, and how they will be involved. Planning efforts can be highly participatory, involving not only administrators (choosers) but also those who will actually carry out the plans (implementers) or those who have some stake in the outcome (stakeholders). Or planning efforts can be centralized among choosers who merely solicit ideas from implementers and stakeholders.
- Selecting a planning process—adopting rational, systematic approaches or relying on more informal approaches ('muddling through.).
- Learning of ideas, needs, and concerns from planners and communicating progress to other stakeholders.
- Selecting general directions and specific themes or strategies.
- Producing the plan—establishing its format and specifications.
- Communicating the plan to various constituencies (teachers, local community and remote agencies who often are the "patrons" providing necessary resources).
- Negotiating and legitimizing the plan with various constituencies.

Around each of the planning activities, a number of issues and dilemmas arise. Who should be involved? How can a broad range of ideas be obtained without raising expectations that all ideas will be included? Should representatives from all groups have a role in determining general directions and selecting specific ideas from the "universe" of input received? How should events in the planning process be communicated to interested stakeholders to ensure their understanding and commitment and to minimize hearsay, gossip, and rumors? How can a coherent plan be produced by participants with diverse viewpoints in a limited amount of time? How can the plan be communicated to various constituencies to secure broad-based ownership and enthusiasm without encouraging either selective ownership over specific portions of the plan or unrealistic expectations? Who should be involved in the final negotiations with various constituencies—especially the funding agency? How can conflicts between competing interest groups be resolved?

How each of these issues and dilemmas was confronted or resolved played a major role in determining the relative success of the efforts to plan and implement changes in the ES districts.

Lessons from the Experimental Schools Districts

As the ten small school districts planned and implemented their projects, many of the general issues and dilemmas surrounding planning surfaced to frustrate and confound their efforts. Many were unanticipated surprises that made apparent a conflict of interests at the planning stage. For the most part, however, the conflicts were avoided or smoothed over during planning and did not surface in most districts until the implementation year.

Responding to the Announcement—An Administrative Initiative. The announcement of a grants competition from the Experimental Schools program reached local school districts in March 1972. In some respects, the announcement was a step in a different direction by the federal government, inviting a more intensive relationship with local communities and districts, but requiring local districts to write letters of interest that outlined their district's strengths and weaknesses and provided an idea of how a substantial influx of federal dollars might be used to support needed changes.

Response to the announcement was usually initiated and conducted by administrators, the primary initiative usually coming from the superintendent or district office administrator. In Oyster Cove, for example, the superintendent drafted the letter of interest by himself, and in Timber River, the superintendent and a cadre of district administrators prepared the letter of interest. In Magnolia, the letter of interest was drafted by a curriculum coordinator based on the district office, while in Desert Basin and Liberty Notch, the initiative came from a principal. In Clayville, the superintendent drafted the letter of interest with the assistance of consultants from a local university.

In drafting the letters, administrators were faced with several dilemmas. First, whose interests should predominate: those of the federal government, the local community, or teachers? For the most part, the letters tended to reflect the interests of the federal sponsors. "Ideas in good currency"—new knowledge, concepts or practices produced by the academic community (either through the direct involvement of consultants or more indirectly through administrators' professional reading and course work) and used as underpinnings to gain the federal agency's approval—were generously sprinkled throughout the letters of interest.

Second, in which areas should weaknesses by identified: administrative, instructional, or local community? Generally, problems were identified in the instructional area—tired, undertrained teachers—or in the local community—apathetic residents and poorly performg students. In Timber River, the administrative team was touted as one of the district's primary strengths. In Oyster Cove, descriptions by administrators of weaknesses in other areas later created resentment on the part of teachers and community residents.

Third, how extensively should representatives from the local community or instructional constituencies be involved in drafting the letter of interest? Limitations of time and administrators' concerns about raising inappropriate issues and expectations made for limited involvement on the part of teachers, parents, and community members. The local community and teachers often were not informed until the awards of the planning grants were made. As already noted, the announcement of the grant award was greeted in Timber River with negative reactions from teachers. In Desert Basin and Prairie Mills the announcement of the award of Experimental Schools money was received with the same suspicion generally aroused in the community by any apparent federal intrusion into local affairs.

Generally, getting the ball rolling required the involvement of administrators with federal officials in a more intensive relationship. Early activities also granted ownership of the project to administrators—a legacy that often was difficult to overcome.

Project Leadership. One of the main issues to arise once planning grants were awarded was where to lodge the ES project within the administrative structure. The common strategy was

to create a new staff position and to delegate responsibility for developing the ES plan to that staff member. The arrangement produced three sources of conflict. The first was uncertainty and ambiguity within the administrative structure itself, often between the superintendent and the project director. In Oyster Cove and Big Sky, for example, there was open conflict between the superintendent and the project director, as well as between the project director and principals, who were often confused about who was in charge of what.

Second, the new role of the project director created other conflicts. In some districts, outsiders were hired for the job, whose lack of knowledge of, and sensitivity to, local conditions produced conflicts between the project leaders and teachers or local residents. In Big Sky and Desert Basin, such conflicts were particularly evident.

But perhaps the most intense conflict around the issue of project leadership occurred between local districts and the federal government. Federal officials insisted that the superintendent exercise direct control over the project and often wanted a voice in the selection of the project coordinator as well. Local superintendents, on the other hand, wanted freedom to delegate responsibility to a director and to select whomever they wishes for the position. Local compliance on this issue often increased the ambiguity of the director's role, and in both Liberty Notch and Magnolia, removing the locally preferred person from the position at federal insistence undercut the rapport that had earlier been established between administrators and the sponsoring agency.

Selecting a Planning Process. In addition to establishing a leadership structure, ES districts struggled to develop a planning process. The process was generally overseen by a professional staff member—a director, evaluator, or documentarian—and a steering committee composed of representatives from several constituencies—teachers, administrators, students, parents, and other community members. The staff and steering committee provided direction for the project and channeled broad-based input from the planning process into the writing of the plan. In practice, however, this pattern commonly resulted in several problems. First, there were occasional jurisdictional conflicts between the steering committee and the school board. Second, it was hard to keep steering committees actively involved over the course of the entire planning year. Third, confusion often developed around the role of the project staff. The issue of project direction was particularly critical as the broad-based input was melded into the final plan.

Intermingling Constituencies to Obtain Ideas. Central to the Experimental Schools change effort was the idea that many participants in planning should be drawn from various groups—teachers, students, parents, and community members. Participation, an idea fashionable in academic communities, was consistently emphasized by ES/Washington. The underlying assumption was that, by intermingling representatives from different groups, proposed changes would reflect diverse interests—not just those of administrators—and would be easier to implement and sustain since central needs and interests were addressed and widely owned.

While the idea of participatory planning was appealing to the federal government, it proved difficult to operationalize in local districts. In Clayville, the superintendent of schools operated on the dictum, "One man's got to do it." His approach to community involvement was to use meetings to persuade teachers and the local community that his proposed changes were needed, rather than to solicit input and recommendations. To placate ES/Washington, the superintendent arranged for consultants to convene community

meetings to "sell" citizens on the merits of the project. They also were the vehicle through which community groups were asked for recommendations. But only two recommendations became part of the final plan: providing a diagnostic center for problem children and planning more emphasis on raising achievement scores to the national norm. The superintendent was trying to develop the "best educational system in the state." His goal was consistent with community goals as long as "the football and basketball teams win, the band marches in perfect order, and the kids feel good when they come home from school." The superintendent perceptively stressed the prerogatives of administrators: as long as obligations are met and implicit agreements are honored, the community grants administrators discretion in determining how best to move ahead. The primary conflict in Clayville during the planning period was between the superintendent and ES/Washington, because the superintendent did not feel nearly as obligated as did the federal agency to involve the local community in planning the project.[5]

In other districts, however, efforts during the planning year brought representatives from various constituencies together in a variety of settings. The involvement of teachers, parents, and citizens in planning seemed to follow basic patterns across districts: broad-based participation in large groups communicated specific interests and ideas, but did so without acknowledging contradictions and conflicts; screening groups composed of representatives from the various groups channeled diverse ideas into a common theme; writing teams (usually administrators or consultants) produced the plan; the even more select bodies negotiated the final plan with the federal agency. Across districts, the structure of the planning process resembled a funnel: ideas and interests from various groups were contributed and were channeled through a narrow "spout" controlled mainly by administrators.

As teachers, local residents, parents, and administrators (and occasionally students) intermingled in the process of planning change, the result was often ambiguity, confusion, and underlying tension and conflict. In Big Sky, for example, the advisory committee (composed of three representatives—two citizens and a teacher—from each of the district's five geographical areas) was selected late in the process. Although the committee was initially intended to be egalitarian, it soon came to be dominated by members from one of the geographical areas.[6]

In Butte-Angels Camp, teachers became confused and hostile over the mixed messages they were receiving: were their ideas being actively solicited by administrators, or were administrators merely trying to gain their acquiescence in supporting already existing ideas and projects? Widely attended meetings of parents and community residents resulted in an outpouring of general complaints about the school system and some very specific dissatisfactions with such things as the process used to select cheerleaders, or the controversy over the need for a student lounge in the high school. In these large assemblies were diverse interests were vociferously represented, each group experienced disappointment and frustration over the problems and ideas of others.[7]

In Liberty Notch, confusion over whether the steering committee was an advisory or a decision-making body resulted in a sharp drop in participation. Each subgroup pushed for its own individual projects, and responsibility for planning the project ultimately shifted to an ad hoc committee dominated by administrators.[8]

In Timber River, an 18-member coordinating committee was selected. Although the group was generally supportive of participation in the ES program, confusion arose over the group's role: was it to make decisions, inform the public, or merely serve as "window dressing?"[9]

Despite confusion over the roles of teachers, community residents, and parents in the planning process, many districts were able to solicit input from different constituencies, that represented their divergent interests. Administrators wanted general themes and a fit between local ideas and ideas in good currency such as personalized education or diagnostic-prescriptive instruction. Teachers wanted materials, in-service education, and resources to do a better job of what they were already doing. Some parents and community residents wanted greater emphasis on vocational education; others were concerned about achievement scores and academics; still others wanted a broadening of adult education and other services.

In most districts, elaborate structures were set up to solicit these divergent ideas. In Desert Basin, for example, 22 committees were formed with an average of six members each. Half the committees met only once, but some met as many as three times. Through a community survey, a list of diverse ideas for spending federal money was generated. It included such items as adult education, art, athletics, debate and public speaking, early childhood, environmental studies, extracurricular programs, middle school, music, reading improvement, summer school, writing, English, and language arts.[10]

In Oyster Cove, the faculty met and discussed and debated educational philosophies. The meeting did not produce many concrete ideas, but it kindled enthusiasm and bred expectations of what would be included in the plan. A large community meeting involved parents and residents in discussions of the shortcomings, past history, and the future of the district. Small groups formed at the meeting's end to list and prioritize what they wanted from the schools.[11]

In Big Sky, citizens presented a welter of ideas to the school board: vocational and on-the-job training, recreation, environmental and cultural programs, mental health and guidance programs, sex education, a school nurse, adult education, individualized instruction, improved programs for sports and athletics, mobile units for specialized training. In all, the planning efforts in Big Sky involved 500 people in a total of 76 meetings.[12]

In Magnolia, planning took place in local schools. Principals were asked to appoint a committee, including a cross-section of community members, to develop a comprehensive plan for each school.[13]

In sum, broad-based participation in the planning stage produced predictable results: diverse ideas were generated, participants suggested ideas compatible with their respective needs and interests, and individuals developed high expectations that their ideas would be included in the final plan.

Selecting Ideas. Once ideas were obtained from teachers, parents, and residents, ES districts were faced with the task of selecting and condensing them into a central theme. In most districts, this task was carried out by a steering committee of representatives from various groups, with leadership provided by administrators.

In Desert Basin, the steering committee experienced difficulties in synthesizing diverse ideas. They developed a central theme in an intense and "emotionally fulfilling" session, and their consensus produced a euphoric optimism about their plan and its future:

> So our steering committee, a farmer, his wife, two students, a machinist (very up-town, but still. . . .), an electric co-op manager, and an auto parts store owner conceived a fantastic, unbelievable hope for our project.
>
> Never, oh never, will anyone connected with the Rural Schools Project in [Desert Basin] ever doubt that democracy works! It's slow, it's halting, it's difficult, but people, just people, given the pot at the end of the rainbow can turn away and say: "Let's think about kids."[14]

As with most themes, however, it meant very different things to individuals with different perspectives, most of whom did not participate in the "moment of creation." The theme was ultimately difficult to use as a criterion for sorting ideas for the final plan.

In Oyster Cove, a three-day community meeting ended with each group being responsible for sending a representative to convey the ideas generated by the group as a whole. The ideas of the three groups were not collated; rather, a steering committee later selected and organized the list of wants into three areas—basic, vocational, and environmental education.[15]

In Butte-Angels Camp, a theme of "personalized instruction" was established prior to soliciting ideas from the community. The theme was general and vague and was neither recognized nor understood system-wide. And when a group of administrators finally pulled together the ideas, many of the favorites of teachers and the community were eliminated.[16]

Delegating to the ES project staff or steering committee the task of selecting ideas generated through broad-based participation eliminated conflict from the larger arenas. In steering committees, conflicts among the diverse interests were often resolved by developing a vague theme as a criterion. But decisions about which ideas to include and which to eliminate were often made with an eye to what the federal government would buy. In Desert Basin, for example, at one point the project staff was telephoning ES representatives in Washington on a daily basis to test ideas emerging from the steering committee's deliberations.[17]

While the selection strategies used by most of the ES districts allowed decisions to be made, they raised some general issues that influenced later events: teachers and community people were frequently disappointed that their ideas were neither represented nor discernible as the plan developed. There was a decreased ownership of the plan and an increased suspicion about the original motive behind asking people to participate. The avoidance of conflict while sifting ideas created problems later.

Writing the Plan. As ideas moved into the writing stage, the "funneling" process edged out teachers and community residents. Writing the plan was usually done by a small group of administrators and/or consultants.

In Timber River, the plan was written by an external consultant whose charge was to produce something that would conform as closely as possible to the expectations and ideas of the federal funders. What resulted was a document nearly unreadable to teachers and community residents. When teachers saw the plan, they could not see their individual proposals reflected and therefore saw their planning efforts as a "smoke screen." When the plan was presented to the steering committee, only two of the eighteen original members attended.[18]

In Butte-Angels Camp, the failure of the small group of administrators to include many of the proposals of teachers in the plan caused the teachers to believe their influence in the planning process had been minimal. Teachers' distrust of the administration increased, as did their cynicism, and led ultimately to their active resistance to the project.[19]

In Desert Basin, intensive collaboration between administrators and the ES staff produced a plan reviewed favorably by Washington but received with suspicion and hostility by the local community. In general, administrators approached the task of producing the plan on the basis of three major criteria: meeting deadlines, pleasing the federal government, and avoiding potential conflicts among groups. This strategy excluded teachers, parents, and local residents and thus increased their sense of alienation.[20]

Negotiating the Plan. As plans were submitted to ES/Washington, the first major conflicts of the planning year erupted between administrators and the sponsoring agency. Conflicts arose from the federal concern with the fit of the plans to ideas in good currency—a timely general theme, comprehensive change, and citizen participation.

Negotiating the final plan with Washington was done largely by administrators or school board members of local districts; other participants were excluded from this late step of the planning process. Concerns or ideas of teachers or community members were deleted from the plan during negotiations between local representatives and federal officials. Since teachers and local residents were not privy to the details of the negotiations, it was easy for them to assume that their ideas had been sold out by administrators. Even where teachers and community members were part of the negotiating team, it was often difficult to explain to people back home that pet ideas had been defended and advanced.

In some cases, federal demands that plans be rewritten shifted responsibilities from steering committees to other groups. In Liberty Notch, for example, responsibility shifted from the steering committee to principals of the various districts within the supervisory union. In Magnolia, as a result of pressure from ES/Washington, responsibility for rewriting the plan shifted to an external consultant.

With these opportunities to see the process by which decisions were made, participants developed further suspicions about their role in planning. For the most part, conflicts between local districts and the federal government were resolved in favor of federal preferences. ES/Washington held the trump card—resources needed by local communities.

The Legacy of the Planning Year. The planning effort, after serving a brief preliminary function as a "plum" for the community or a "plume" in the hat of the administration, shifted. In some communities the planning effort became a magnet for a series of unresolved issues within the community and between the community and school districts.

In Butte-Angels Camp, the planning year became an arena in which the long-standing conflict between teachers and administrators was played out. In Desert Basin and Big Sky, the planning grant created an arena in which the continuing concerns about federal intrusions were discussed and intensified. In Prairie Mills, the teachers became increasingly concerned about work conditions and ample compensation for their workloads beyond the normal teaching load.

In other districts, the planning effort became a catalyst for conflict. In Oyster Cove, the planning year saw a tax levy defeated and a superintendent fired. The main issues raised were student discipline, declining test scores, and finances, but underlying these issues was the ES project. In Desert Basin, an existing conflict between the administration (particularly the board and superintendent) and the community intensified over the issue of the federal grant. At the end of the planning year, the superintendent, a middle school principal, the project director, and the project documentarian resigned; the high school principal moved to another job, one school board member was recalled, and a tax override was voted down.

During the planning year, conflicts began to surface within all ten districts—even though these issues were seldom addressed explicitly in the planning process. Communities became concerned about the schools' performing important obligations when teachers seemed to spend more time planning than teaching. Teachers became increasingly concerned about potential administrative intrusions into their territory without ample compensation—in terms of salary increases or new resources. Within local communities, special interest groups began to wonder whether or not they were receiving their fair share of the federal dollars. In most districts, the planning process provided new visibility for existing issues and began to reveal potential realignments in the relationship among various constituencies.

Second, within the planning process itself, representatives of various groups intermingled to produce a unified plan for change. Putting these divergent interests together without a means of openly reconciling differences produced ambiguity and uncertainty. Such uncertainties and conflicting ideas in turn produced ambiguous themes, vague plans, purely token agreements, and unresolved conflicts.

In most cases, the planning effort generated expectations that representatives of various groups would participate as equals, and that the diverse needs and interests of their constituents would be reflected in the plan. As the planning effort progressed, however, administrators, consultants, and federal officials came to play an increasingly dominant role, excluding active participation by the teachers, parents, and local residents. Particularly at the end of the process, the planning effort was primarily a transaction between a district's administration and an agency of the federal government. Consequently, both in people's minds and in reality, the final plan represented an amalgamation of administrative desires and ideas in good currency prominent in the remote environment at that time. But the final planning documents were uniformly disappointing since it was difficult for virtually any group to find its interest and needs adequately represented. Even administrators often felt betrayed by ES/Washington.

Third, the planning effort ended with a number of unresolved conflicts, which were to a large extent the result of perceived failures of different groups to honor obligations and to live up to implicit agreements. To a lesser extent, these conflicts may have resulted from the intrusion of the ES program and the demands of the planning year—or the potential trespassing on the turf of various groups represented by the forthcoming implementation year.

Within the local community, there were unresolved conflicts between various factions: parents who hoped the Experimental Schools project would result in better education for their children allied themselves against taxpayers worried about the costs of continuing such activities; planners who had invested time and effort in producing the plan aligned against community residents who knew nothing about the ES project but rumors, hearsay, and

gossip, and who had become concerned over the fact that teachers and administrators were spending time planning instead of leading and running the schools. Employees of federal agencies in local communities argued with locals who saw the federal "money" as a threat to community autonomy and control. Representatives from different geographical locations with a school district aligned aginst each other as they embraced radically different expectations for the ensuing year.

Within the administrative and governance structure, there were unresolved conflicts between board members and superintendents, superintendents and project directors, project directors and principals, and superintendents and principals.

Between administrators and the community or teachers simmered the unresolved conflict over the elimination of many pet interests and projects. Also brewing was the possibility of an increased workload that would take teachers away from teaching and children. Some teachers even began to feel that administrators were enhancing professional reputations at their expense.

Tensions mounted among local communities, the administration, and the federal government over the unspoken issue of whose project the Experimental Schools funds would support. The initial expectations of "no-strings attached" resources to support local programs was shattered. Instead, traditional concerns about federal interference were reestablished and reinforced.

Finally, among the various constituencies there remained a climate of acute suspicion and distrust produced by the events of the planning year. The federal government was concerned about the misuse of funds. Teachers were suspicious of the motives of administrators in pursuing the Experimental Schools projects. Administrators were distrustful of teachers. And local citizens were suspicious and distrustful of all three groups.

IMPLEMENTING EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS PROJECTS: THE EMERGENCE OF OPEN CONFLICT

As the Experimental Schools projects moved from planning to implementation, conflicts began to erupt in all the districts. Some of the conflict was to be expected, since implementation is a time of action when disagreements previously concealed by the ambiguous, abstract prose of a plan, become obgious as concrete actions are taken. Flexible planning deadlines gave way to more rigid schedules of business as usual in districts and schools. Instructional materials and supplies were needed at the beginning of the school year to support new curricula and teaching approaches; workshops and other training activities were needed to help participants acquire needed skills; new personnel had to be hired and trained. The logical time for these crucial activities was the summer recess. But, unfortunately, the summer was filled with tasks—particularly negotiating and revising the final plans. Once the negotiations ended, plans were quickly undermined by the tasks left undone during the summer months. For many districts, the opening day of school and the inauguration of the ES project were marked by considerable confusion and conflict.

But not all of these conflicts can be attributed to the nature of implementation or untimely delays. Nor was the conflict caused entirely by suspicion, distrust, and misunderstandings carried over from the planning year. Many conflicts emerged later or lingered long after the difficulties posed by late funding or poor planning had been solved. These conflicts

originated from several additional sources: characteristics of the innovative projects themselves, failures of various groups to observe constraints or fulfill obligations, or failures to clarify ambiguous roles and responsibilities.

Characteristics of Innovations that Induced Conflict.

The main intent of the ES program was to produce comprehensive change. In each district, however, comprehensive change was divided into smaller innovative units or packages called components. Some plans included a large number of components—38 in Timber River, for example. Others, as in Big Sky, included only five. Some individual components were implemented with few problems, but others precipitated conflict both internally and between professionals and parents or local residents.

There are several distinctions between components that produced conflict and those that did not.[21] One distinction was how much the component differed from existing activities in the district. Components that conformed closely to ongoing practices and procedures caused few problems. In Big Sky, for example, a component brought a variety of cultural experiences—music, art, drama, and dance—to the community. Events were held in school buildings and open to both students and members of the local community. This activity was consonant with previous district practices. Students, community members, and staff often attended or participated in entertainment events in the school. Athletic events, school assemblies, or community or school-sponsored activities (e.g., "donkey" basketball) were a regular part of Big Sky's schools. The component altered the substance of the entertainment somewhat but meshed nicely with accustomed procedures. Consequently, the component caused no conflict either within the district or between the district and the local community.

In contrast, Clayville's component, "diagnosis and prescription," called for a major departure from two fundamental characteristics of instruction: self-contained classrooms and small group instruction. The component required student learning problems to be diagnosed in special centers outside the classroom. Classroom teachers were then asked to follow the highly individualized methods prescribed in the diagnostic report. Attempts to implement this component produced sustained conflict in the district between the superintendent who was committed to the idea and teachers who opposed it.[23]

One reason that compatible components produced little conflict may have been that districts could rely on previous experience to implement familiar practices. Necessary materials, supplies, and equipment were identified and easily located, teaching skills were familiar and easily transferred, organizational patterns that needed to be altered to support the component were known and easily changed. The Timber River district, for example, relied on its prior experience with overnight field trips in implementing a similar component, which established a resident school for marine biology on the Oregon coast. The district's pre-Experimental Schools experience served as a "pilot" program for many ES components, providing useful information and knowledge that was applied as the new components were implemented.

But previous experience did not always eliminate conflict. In the same district, a fifth-grade social studies program—*Man: A Course of Study* (or MACOS)—had been used successfully on an experimental basis in one elementary school for several years. The ES resources expanded this program—and a companion program for older students, *People and*

Technology—to the other schools in the district. The district relied on its earlier experience to identify the necessary teacher skills, conduct the training, and provide the requisite equipment and materials. Because of the previous experiences, technical aspects were handled effectively and the program's expansion produced few problems. Conflict arose, however, when a group of parents found some of the materials of the course offensive and objected to the values that they felt the program espoused. In extensive public hearings, the program was reviewed and debated. Eventually it was eliminated from the district's curriculum.[24]

Even when administrators attend adequately to the technical aspects of implementation—clearly defining the innovation, properly motivating teachers, providing needed training and instructional materials, and installing mechanisms to feed back information and monitor the change—a particular component may foment conflict if it violates some aspect of an explicit or implicit set of obligations and constraints governing school/community relationships.

A second distinction between components that produced conflict and those that did not was the extent to which existing procedures were disrupted. "Add-on" components that did not displace current activities seldom created conflict, even when they represented major departures from traditional practices. The diagnosis and prescription component in Clayville, for example, displaced existing practices, and thus produced conflict. In Timber River, however, an equally radical change in the high school's business, vocational, and marketing education curriculum did not. The district began a "storefront" business and restaurant in the community (open to students and the public) as an adjunct to the high school cafeteria. Both were student-operated and designed to provide students with direct work experience. Traditional textbook-based business and marketing courses were not displaced, however, since those courses were offered as electives or alternatives. As additions to the existing program, neither component created conflict during implementation.[25]

Similarly, an environmental education component in the Oyster Cove district was added to the existing high school curriculum without creating conflict. This component capitalized on the nearby forests and beaches and a marine biology research center located in the community by engaging students in environmental projects outside the classroom. While this instructional strategy represented a major change for the district, it did not displace existing curricular offerings.

The critical influence of displacement on innovative practice is illustrated by the history of another of Oyster Cove's components, *Interim*. Small groups of high school students under faculty supervision took week-long excursions to urban areas, visiting other schools and colleges, attending museums, concerts, and plays, and talking with employers in various career areas. Such excursions were difficult to arrange in the local community, and this week-long interim program displaced a week of regular school for these students. Though effectively implemented and popular with students and teachers, the component produced conflict in the community. Some parents complained that students misbehaved during trips when "they were supposed to be in school," and these complaints doomed the effort: it was eliminated the following year. Displacing legitimate educational activities with experiences of questionable or unproven value played an important role in the early demise of an otherwise promising innovation.[26]

A third factor that distinguished components that produced conflict from those that did not was how closely the superintendent and other district administrators monitored implementation. When administrators did not look to see whether or not the component was actually in place, conflict seldom occurred. Some components needed little monitoring, because they were clearly defined, required no new skills or training to install, and were commonly understood and accepted as desirable and inexpensive for the district to continue. Carpeting the media center in Oyster Cove, adding playground equipment (a physical educational center) in Timber River, and purchasing new reading and math tests and materials in Prairie Mills and Oyster Cove are examples of innovations that required little monitoring. These innovations were widely acclaimed as improvements.

Other components did require systematic attention from administrators. They differed from existing practice, required new skills and training, and were not clearly defined, thoroughly understood, or accepted by teachers. When such innovations were not monitored by administrators, little conflict occurred—but neither were the components implemented effectively. In some instances, such components were never even attempted. In Timber River, for example, the district's plan called for a reorganization of the district's curricula into a series of five interdisciplinary "streams." The idea was originally proposed in the district's letter of interest and attracted ES/Washington's attention. It became a central aspect of the federal contract. But, after a year of attempting to clarify and operationalize the idea, the district's administrators dropped the concept and ES/Washington stopped asking questions about its progress. Within a year, the idea of curricular streams—at one time the organizing principle of the entire ES project—had disappeared from the district's vocabulary. It simply required more monitoring than district administrators were prepared to provide.

Other components that required extensive monitoring were declared to be implemented even though only a portion of the changes described in the plan were observable in practice. Oyster Cove, for example, tried to convert its school libraries to media centers. The transformation consisted of two parts: the library was to be converted to a repository for nonprint media (e.g., film strip, slides, records, three-dimensional models) in addition to print media, and students were to have access to these media directly, thereby using the media center for their individual projects. The librarian (now called a media specialist) was to participate jointly with teachers in planning individual and small group activities in the center as well as classroom use of a variety of media.

The first part of the innovation was implemented as planned. Nonprint media were ordered and became part of the library's inventory, the name was changed to the Media Center, and the librarian acquired a new title. But the second part of the innovation—its behavioral aspects—suffered a different fate. Students continued to use the media center for traditional class projects, such as preparing research reports utilizing only print media, and the media specialist continued to function as a custodian of the library collection instead of as a partner of teachers in planning curricula. Since the administrators either did not monitor the implementation effort or elected not to acknowledge that part, two projects never moved from the drawing board and no conflict occurred. But neither was an important aspect of the innovation carried into action.[37]

When administrators actually inspected project components to see whether desired changes were reflected in practice, or else confronted the gap between plans and reality, conflict ensued. In both Clayville and Butte-Angels Camp, for example, diagnostic-prescriptive

instruction was a central part of the ES project. In both districts, superintendents challenged teachers' reports of their attempts to revamp the instruction practices in accordance with the innovation. Neither superintendent was willing to accept paperwork as evidence that the required changes in the roles of teachers had taken place. They looked; and in both cases their inspection and insistence on compliance produced conflict between themselves and teachers which lasted for a substantial period of time.[28]

Administrative monitoring and inspection was an unnegotiated intrusion into the territory of teachers. The intrusion provoked conflict because administrators failed to observe an implicit constraint in their relationship with teachers that was designed to protect teacher autonomy. Administrators are typically permitted to monitor and inspect teacher behavior and performance only under very carefully controlled conditions and at specified times—usually once or twice a year. District policies and/or labor contracts specify these conditions very precisely, including the format for providing feedback from such visits. Superintendents and other administrators who tried to monitor changes closely did not observe these constraints, and their intrusion provoked conflict. In many districts, administrators were clearly faced with a major dilemma. If they monitored and inspected the proposed changes, they risked provoking conflict. But if they did not monitor or inspect, they ran the risk that a component would be only partially implemented.

In sum, components that provoked conflict were those that proposed innovations that displaced and/or differed radically from current instructional practices, or were inspected and monitored by the superintendent or other key administrators. In contrast, those that did not provoke conflict were either consistent with or did not displace existing practices, or were not monitored by the superintendent or other district administrators.

Types of Conflict

Conflicts in school districts participating in the Experimental Schools program erupted when one group failed to carry out its obligations or observe contraints in relation to other groups. Parents' complaints in the Oyster Cove district about student misbehavior during Interim week indicated that administrators failed to meet their obligation to control students. In the MACOS controversy in Timber River, administrators and teachers had not observed constraints governing what could not be included in the school curriculum.

But not all conflicts that occurred as districts implemented plans were between groups: conflict often erupted within groups. One common problem centered around the question of where to place the project administrator, director, or coordinator in the chain of command. In Prairie Mills, for example, the superintendent and the principals met as an administrative cabinet prior to the ES project. Principals operated in a traditional line relationship with the superintendent. When the ES project coordinator began making decisions that affected instruction in individual schools, the principals questioned his authority. Conflicts continued to arise until the superintendent reaffirmed the traditional chain of command and assigned the project coordinator a purely staff responsibility.

Conflicts also arose between instructional personnel. In Butte-Angels Camp, for example, differences arose between elementary and secondary teachers as decisions were made about which components should be included in the final plan. Secondary teachers, wanting to emphasize the importance of subject matter, pushed to hire a math coordinator, while elementary teachers were more interested in developing a program focused on the learning

needs of individual children. The conflict eventually was resolved by the superintendent in favor of the elementary teachers. His decision was based on support for a child-centered approach to instruction.

These examples indicate two important characteristics of conflict among administrators or instructional personnel. First, conflict usually arises as a result of ambiguity in roles and responsibilities—who is responsible for what? Does one owe allegiance to subject matter, to colleagues, or to individual students? Second, conflict often ends up in the laps of administrators, no matter where it originates. In each example above, it was the superintendent who acted to resolve the issues of the ambiguity in roles and responsibilities.

STRATEGIES FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Three strategies for managing conflict are especially discernible in the ten case studies. Two strategies were used almost exclusively during planning—but also during implementation—to either avoid conflict (evasion) or to deny its existence (avoidance). A third strategy—used especially during implementation—emphasized the use of power or coercion as a means of resolving conflict. In power strategies, one party attempts to force or coerce others to do something they would not otherwise do. Often the strategies occurred sequentially. Conflict was first avoided or smoothed over, then suppressed through the application of power.

Evasion or diplomacy was not especially effective in dealing with conflicts that arose in the ES districts. When conflicts were avoided or denied, they were temporarily suppressed in one arena, only to appear later with renewed vigor in another. A good example occurred in Timber River. Administrators attempted to use diplomacy in dealing with the issue of mainstreaming handicapped students. Many teachers were strongly opposed to mainstreaming and expressed this opposition during meetings with the superintendent and project director. The administrators, highly committed to implementing the idea, smoothed over the differences by suggesting that the special education teacher could serve as a resource person to help the regular classroom teachers deal with any problems. But, several months later, the teacher association proposed and bargained hard for restrictions on the administration's authority to commit the district to experimental programs—including assigning handicapped students to regular classrooms—without prior teacher approval. Thus, the special education issue, smoothed over in early meetings, reappeared in a more militant form on the collective bargaining table.

The use of power also had its negative consequences in the ES districts. Superintendents in both Clayville and Butte-Angels Camp attempted to force teachers to comply with diagnostic-prescriptive teaching. In doing so, the Butte-Angels Camp superintendent linked teacher evaluations and the reward of tenure and retention to teachers' compliance with new teaching approaches. The Clayville superintendent threatened to fire teachers who refused to attend workshops where consultants explained the procedure or suggested how to use the new teaching process in the classroom. In each case the teachers responded to threats by expanding the conflict into the local community and by using their political influence with the school board. Eventually the teachers were able to win over or elect enough members to the school board who supported their position and were able to force the superintendent's resignation.

A fourth strategy for resolving conflict, apparently the most effective, was that of active negotiations between the various interest groups. This strategy produced the fewest negative

consequences. Ironically, however, negotiation was seldom employed. Rather, power strategies were used initially by administrators to force teachers to comply with project objectives. In response, teachers expanded the conflict into the community and used political influence with the school board to reduce the administrator's power. Only when administrative power and authority in the district had been reduced did administrators, particularly the superintendents, bargain with teachers. And generally it was a successor of the original superintendent who was willing to negotiate.

In Timber River, the superintendent and the central office administrative staff exerted a great deal of influence over the project during planning. Results of surveys of the staff indicated that teachers felt they had little influence over the contents of the plan. In fact, Timber River teachers' perceptions of their influence was the lowest of the ten ES districts. When the plan was funded and efforts began, the central office administrators took the position that the plan should be implemented as planned. The slogan was to "do as we agreed," and from the administrator's perspective, the agreements were faithfully recorded in the plan. The problem was that few teachers honored the agreements because they had had little influence in determining what they were.

The teachers, in effect, felt coerced by the superintendent and his staff and reacted with their own power strategy. A number of community members initiated a group called "Concerned Citizens for Education" in response to a phone call from one teacher who noted that: "Parents should be worried about what they [administrators] are doing to your children!" The superintendent became increasingly occupied with responding to demands and concerns of the community group. Over time, the group joined in a coalition with teachers to defeat several of the superintendent's key supporters on the school board and elected members who were more supportive of their interests. The turnover in board membership reduced the administrators' power and authority, making it necessary to rely more and more on bargaining and negotiating strategies to promote the intended changes.

In sum, a typical pattern of response by administrators to conflict can be discerned in the ten districts. As conflict surfaced during planning, administrators tried to smooth it over by avoiding conflict or by denying that it existed. Their rationale was often framed in terms of getting the plan done and meeting the deadlines imposed by ES/Washington. But, since underlying issues remained unresolved, conflicts predictably surfaced early as plans were put into action. The typical administrative response at this point was to resort to power couched in some variation of the "we must do as agreed" theme highlighted in Timber River. Teachers typically responded with a power strategy of their own, but since their power base lay outside the boundaries of the formal organization, conflict that began internally expanded beyond the formal organization boundaries. The effect of expansion outside was usually a reduction in the superintendent's power and authority; in some cases it led to the adoption of a bargaining/negotiation approach to resolving conflict.

This pattern of dealing with conflict left many casualties among administrators along the way. Superintendents became particularly vulnerable when conflict spread into the community and anti-administration school board members were elected. Only three administrators who signed the initial letter of interest remained after the final ES report was completed. In only two districts—Timber River and Prairie Mills—was the superintendent who had used power to resolve conflict during implementation the same superintendent who employed a negotiation strategy after the conflict expanded to include the community.

SUMMARY

As districts planned and implemented their ES projects, existing relationships among various groups were set in flux. In the planning stage, emerging ambiguities, disagreements, and conflicts were avoided or smoothed over in the interests of producing a document that would secure federal resources. Primary attention was diverted from local needs and interests and emerging local conflicts among administrators, teachers, or community residents to focus mainly on what the "feds" would buy. The major conflicts of the planning period erupted over discrepancies between what local administrators had assumed and what ES/Washington actually wanted. With the federal agency holding the trump card during the delicate negotiations, many items that teachers and community residents had wanted were eliminated because, not being privy to the give-and-take of negotiations, it was easy for teachers and community residents to let "ownership" of the process shift substantially to administrators. Administrators were thus burdened with new obligations and constraints on their relationship with teachers or parents, which had further implications for the implementation of project goals.

As plans became operational, conflicts erupted among various groups or constituencies. Ambiguity over roles and relationships within groups—particularly between project staff members and non-members—created disagreements, hostility, and turf disputes. Aides and volunteers argued with teachers, teachers struggled with students, principals wrestled with project coordinators, and superintendents jousted with school boards or advisory committees.

Between groups and constituencies, relationships became particularly strained and disputed. Teachers resisted attempts by administrators to change classroom instruction; local communities welcomed new services and opportunities, but resented changes in discipline, curriculum, and the instructional setting if they ran counter to conventional ideas of what school should be; administrators resisted intrusion on their authority by teachers, the local community, and especially the federal government.

Conflicts erupted around a number of issues. In the districts that implemented their ES projects most effectively, conflict was particularly high, either between administrators and teachers, within the local community, or both. Strategies to resolve conflicts were generally aimed at smoothing over or avoiding the control of issues, or using power to force one's values or interests on others. Negotiation or bargaining between groups was rare, but where such strategies were used, there was some evidence that new agreements were reached and that conditions improved.

RESOURCES FOR FURTHER READING

Abt, Wendy Peter, Thomas Cerva and Thomas Jakob Marx. *Why So Little Change? The Effects on Pupils of the Rural Experimental Schools Program.* Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates Inc., July 1978.

A "black box" analysis of changes in pupil self-esteem, values, and achievement test scores attributable to their districts' participation in the ES program. Analysis involved the use of 18 randomly stratified comparison school districts that were not participants in the ES program and led to the conclusion that the ES strategy for affecting the measured pupil outcomes was neither uniformly nor generally successful.

Argyris, Chris and Donald Schon. *Organizational Learning.* New York: Addison-Wesley, 1978.

Presents the authors' thesis that individuals have cognitive images called theories-in-use, which they

use to design actions and behavior in organizations. The research presented suggests that the theories-in-use utilized by most individuuals limit their own learning and interact with those of others in the organization to increase the organization's resistance to change and discourage risk-taking and collaborative problem solving.

Burns, Allan F. *From Rural School Project to Rural School Problem: Willcox, Arizona.* Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates Inc., May 1979.

This case study of the Willcox ES project is descriptive in style and ethnographic in approach. Central to its analysis is the assumption that the actions of participants in planned change are guided by their perceptions and interpretations of social structure and process. The study draws on traditional and current work in cognitive anthropology and the ethnography of schools to interpret events within the schools of Willcox, its Experiemental Schools project, and the community itself, viewing these arenas as three aspects of a single social system. Illustrates the difficulty in maintaining organizational commitment to innovation when leadership changes.

Clinton, Charles A. *Educational Change within a Political Arena: Shiloh County.* Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates Inc., May 1979.

This case study of Shiloh County (a pseudonym) is analytical in approach, descriptive in documentation, and ethnographic in style. Its analysis considers the events of Shiloh's ES project within the larger context of other political and educational events within the county. Emphasis is given to the role played by such locally based forces as kinship, church, neighborhood, and community, and to the externally based ones of federal and state law and policy. The volume is rich in narrative detail regarding the issues of: federal-local relations, superintendent-school board interaction, superintendent leadership behavior, teacher resistance to perceived threats to their classroom autonomy, student resistance to a changing teacher role, and community resistance to school district consolidation. The positive and negative consequences of the use of a power strategy by administrators are illustrated.

Colfer, A. Michael and Carol J. Pierce Colfer. *Life and Learning in an American Town: Quilcene, Washington.* Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates Inc., May 1979.

This case study of Quilcene presents a detailed ethnography of both the community and its schools as a context for its ES project. The volume's emphasis is upon those aspects of community life that can serve to "de-fuse and diffuse" the impacts of planned change efforts. The volume considers in great detail a series of social distinctions associated with age grading, sex, and work roles, and explores how these distinctions are reinforced by the "hidden curriculum" of schooling. A concluding section offers insight into why substantial and lasting change in contemporary schooling is so difficult to achieve.

Corwin, Ronald G. *Patterns of Federal-Local Relationships in Education: A Case Study of the Experimental Schools Program.* Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates Inc., February 1, 1977.

A sociological case study of the Experimental Schools program as designed and implemented at the federal level with particular emphasis upon the roles of the federal project officer as "project monitor," "project advisor," and "technical assistance specialist." Examines the advantages and disadvantages of different role definitions under different conditions.

Donnelly, William L. *Continuity and Change in Rural Schooling: Constantine, Michigan.* Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates Inc., May 1979.

This case study of Constantine's ES project is sociological in perspective and focuses on the forces of stability and change within the community and its educational system. Emphasis is given to the changing power relationships between administrators and teachers and to the role played by laymen when conflict arises between them. The volume examines in detail the effects of unplanned events (particularly a teachers' strike) on the process of planned educational change, with major emphasis upon the need for adaptation of project plans and strategies.

Firestone, William A. *Educational Conflict and Transformation: Butte-Angels Camp, South Dakota.* Praeger Special Studies, forthcoming.

This case study of Butte-Angels Camp (a pseudonym) combines both sociological description and theory in seeking to understand the initial conflict and eventual transformation that occurred during the course of its ES project. Three images of educational organizations are presented and interpreted in the light of the events of that project: the school as a rational bureaucracy, as a loosely coupled system, and as a political system. No single image offered a full understanding of events in Butte-Angels Camp; the utility of each image seems to depend upon the question being asked and upon conditions within the school system at particular stages of the change process.

Fitzsimmons, Stephen J. and Abby Freedman (with Thomas E. Ferb, Warren G. Lavey and Lorrie I. Stuart). *Community Barriers and Incentives to Educational Change: The Rural Experimental Schools Program.* Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Books, forthcoming.

This volume presents a rural development approach to the problem of educational change by viewing public education in relation to its local environment, the community it serves. Schools are not seen as isolated organizations but as one of fifteen social institutions that both are affected by their communities and have the potential for making a long-term impact on the community. The analysis integrates standard socioeconomic data about rural communities with the reports and narratives of experienced participant observers.

Fitzsimmons, Stephen J., Peter C. Wolff and Abby Freedman (Editors). *Rural America: A Social and Educational History of Ten Communities.* Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates Inc., April 1975.

A collection of social and educational histories of the ten rural school districts participating in the ES program from the time of their earliest settlement through 1972. The presentations for each community include: basic geography, geology and ecology; early settlement; general development through the early 1960s; and contemporary demographic, social, economic, political, and cultural community characteristics. Special emphasis has been given to the patterns of school district annexation and consolidation within these districts.

Gross, Neal, Joseph B. Giacquinta and Marilyn Berstein. *Implementing Organizational Innovations. A Sociological Analysis of Planned Educational Change.* New York: Basic Books, 1971.

A detailed account of an attempt to implement an innovation calling for a role change for teachers in an elementary school. The authors focus on the organizational factors under the control of administration that inhibit the implementation of the innovation and account for its limited success.

Hennigh, Lawrence. *Cooperation and Conflict in Long-term Educational Change: South Umpqua, Oregon.* Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates Inc., May 1979.

This case study of the ED project in South Umpqua is primarily descriptive in style with an analysis of school-community relationships. Both description and analysis are directed by the assumption that people interact on the basis of cognitive models of their social environment. The volume is rich in narrative detail regarding the assimilation of urban populations in rural communities, the Oregon taxpayers' revolt, the effects of unanticipated change upon planned change, the power of local citizens to balance the forces of planned and unplanned change, and the role of unanticipated events in all change processes. Documents the positive and negative consequences of a power strategy initiated by administrators to initiate change.

Herriott, Robert E. *Federal Initiatives and Rural School Improvement.* Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates Inc., May 1979.

Outlines the implications of the Experimental Schools research for relationships between the federal government and local districts.

Herriott, Robert E. and Neal Gross (Editors). *The Dynamics of Planned Educational Change: Case Studies and Analyses.* Berkeley, Calif.: McCutchan Publishing Corp., 1979.

This volume was designed for persons enrolled in formal educational institutions in preparation for assuming leadership roles in educational change efforts at the federal, state, or local level. It presents

chapter-length case studies of five of the ten rural ES projects (drawn from the more extensive book-length case study reports) and offers extensive analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the approach of each project from the perspective of a school superintendent, an experienced consultant, a designer of federal programs, a specialist in federal-local relations, and a specialist in the training of educational practitioners. Also presented is a model of the educational change process that can serve as a checklist for identifying potential obstacles likely to be encountered at the local level.

Messerschmidt, Donald A. *The Local-Federal Interface in Rural School Improvement: River District, Wyoming.* Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates Inc., May 1979.

This case study of River district (a pseudonym) is anthropological in perspective and focuses on the problem of introducing educational change from a cultural distance. The culture of rural Wyoming (with its emphasis upon being hard-working, hard-living, honest, lonely, and friendly) is presented in rich detail and contrasted with that of the federal government in Washington, D.C. (with its emphasis upon being logical, rational, and goal-oriented). The interaction of these two cultures through the vehicle of the River District ES project becomes a major determinant of its fate. Documents the reactions that intrusion by the remote zone provoke in administrative, teaching, and local community zone.

Miles, M., "Thinking About How to Do It: Alternative Models of Planning and Implementation of New Schools." New York: Center for Policy Research, 1976. Unpublished ms.

This paper presents the author's conceptual framework for analyzing the process of change in schools. The paper describes several models of planning/implementation prevalent in the literature and in practice, suggests criteria for judging a "good" planning/implementation model, identifies five critical dimensions for such models, and discusses the models that appear to inform the planning and implementation activities in three school sites where improvement efforts are under way.

Rand Corporation: *Federal Program Supporting Educational Change,* Vols. I-V, by Paul Berman, Mildred McLaughlin, Edward Pauley, Peter Greenwood, Dale Mann, et al. Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, 1975.

An analysis of over 300 projects funded by the various federal programs. The fundings suggest that a strategy of "mutual adaptation" designed to promote an alternative of both the organizational setting and the innovation is most successful in promoting change in school settings. Volume III contains twenty case studies of successful and unsuccessful projects, together with analysis of factors that seem to influence the implementation outcomes.

Rosenblum, Sheila and Karen Seashore Louis (with Nancy Brigham and Robert E. Herriott). *A Measure of Change: The Process and Outcomes of Planned Change in Ten Rural School Districts.* Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates Inc., May 1979.

A sociological analysis of the process and outcomes of planned educational change. Utilizes a blend of survey data, expert testimony, and case study reports to explore the effects of organizational properties, and the nature and strength of linkages between various parts of educational systems, in explaining the implementation and continuation of new programs. Presents implications for researchers, policy makers, and practitioners.

Stannard, Charles T. *Problems of Project Direction and Coordination: North Country Supervisory Union, New Hampshire.* Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates Inc., May 1979.

This case study of North Country Supervisory Union (a pseudonym) provides a detailed documentation of the efforts of three autonomous school districts to collaborate in the design and implementation of an ES project. The volume provides extensive narrative about the issues of federal-local relations, inter-district relations, planning problems at the level of the supervisory union, and implementation problems within each district. The problems of planning and implementation are attributed to localism, lack of community support, limited staff competence, and impaired communication with the federal sponsors. The negative consequences of federal intrusion are illustrated.

CHAPTER NOTES

1. See Hennigh (1979), for a more detailed description of this event. Throughout this Chapter, we provide citations for quotes, ideas, illustrations, and events so that readers who wish can consult the specific case study. In addition, the annotated bibliography for Chapter 3 provides a general description of all case studies.

2. Clinton (1979).

3. Messerschmidt (1979).

4. Hennigh, *op cit.*

5. Clington, *op cit.*

6. Messerschmidt, *op cit.*

7. Firestone (1979).

8. Stannard (1979).

9. Hennigh, *op cit.*

10. Burns (1979).

11. Colfer and Colfer (1979).

12. Messerschmidt, *op cit.*

13. Wacaster, Chapter 6 in Herriott and Gross (1979).

14. Burns, *op cit.*

15. Colfer & Colfer, *op cit.*

16. Messerschmidt, *op cit.*

17. Burns, *op cit.*

18. Hennigh, *op cit.*

19. Firestone, *op cit.*

20. Burns, *op cit.*

21. Rosenblum and Louis (1979).

22. Messerschmidt, *op cit.*

23. Clinton, *op cit.*

24. Hennigh, *op cit.*

25. Clinton, *op cit.*

26. Colfer & Colfer, *op cit.*

27. Ibid.

28. Firestone, Clinton, *op cit.*

29. Donnelly (1979).

CHAPTER THREE

ORGANIZATIONAL IMAGES AND CHANGE

The pattern of events that unfolded as the ten school districts planned and implemented their Experimental Schools projects is not atypical. Many of the same patterns, problems, dilemmas, and issues undoubtedly accompany Teacher Corps projects, Title I programs, competency-based curricular reforms, or any other federal, state, or local efforts to bring about change in schools. The fact that the ten school districts were all located in rural areas may have produced some unique variations on the typical profile of change and the fact that all ten were in pursuit of large-scale, comprehensive change may have intensified some of the problems. But, to principals and superintendents who have tried to change the features of any rural, suburban, or urban school or district, the experiences described in the previous chapter should have a familiar ring. To administrators who are about to plan and implement an innovative project, the problems common to these ten small school districts can be seen as a predictable scenario.

The question is how best to manage the problems that typically accompany change. How can the "who-are-those guys?" reaction of administrators to a surprising turn of events be replaced with more accurate and reliable predictions? How can planning be organized to incorporate diverse ideas into a specific document without producing major conflicts among interest groups? How can changes be translated from the drawing board into practice without creating major conflicts and divisive power struggles between teachers and administrators or between professionals and the local community? While answers to these important questions are complex and elusive, the task of suggesting how administrators might approach change differently has to begin somewhere.

To us, the best beginning point is to raise some questions about the images that administrators have of the organizations in which they work. Those who administered the small districts in which Experimental Schools projects were attempted seemed to have images or theories about organizations and changes that were largely inaccurate and unworkable. Had their images been different, the course of events may have been channeled into more positive directions. Hindsight permits us to suggest a different image—one that may make change in schools easier to understand and manage.

THE IMPORTANCE OF IMAGES

Whether consciously or not, every administrator has an image of the setting in which he or she works. Formed through the interplay of personal background or training and experience, such images—if accurate—provide administrators with a "sixth sense," a knack of knowing what is happening when things are going wrong and what can be done to solve problems that arise. An offhand criticism of a teacher by a local resident may be dismissed lightly as an ill-informed rumor. But, for an administrator who knows that the resident is an opinion leader of an important constituency, the event may require a follow-up meeting with the resident, a conference with the teacher, or both. Proposing instructional changes to deal directly with underlying causes of disruptive disciplinary problems may seem a promising avenue within a high school, but astute administrators often move slowly in such a direction, as teachers may resist the initiative as still another administrative intrusion, while community residents may prefer an even tougher disciplinary code.

When images are accurate, problems can be anticipated, strategies can be developed to deal with issues as they arise, and administrators can take action to steer the school or district in positive directions. Conflicts and problems will inevitably arise, but they need not overwhelm the system. Where images are inaccurate or incomplete, however, administrators are frequently caught off guard. Unanticipated problems arise around seemingly insignificant events, and strategies frequently backfire. For example, straightforward information on the school board's agenda produces a lengthy acrimonious debate; a discipline code developed through a systematic planning process involving students, parents, and residents is suddenly attacked by a large group of parents and community residents; a community unexpectedly fails to support a critical bond referendum. In such cases, a chaotic school or district becomes overwhelmed by problems and unresolved conflicts. This is at least partially the result of an inaccurate or incomplete image of the local setting held by an administrator who either did not have a thorough understanding of individual personalities or did not understand the interplay between specific roles or special interests.

An administrator's ability to understand complex systems is important under stable conditions, but it is particularly crucial when change is being considered. Administrators sometimes erroneously assume that others share their enthusiasm for change and that individuals in different parts of the system will view the change in similar ways. Without a sound image of organizations, it is easy for administrators to overlook key obstacles and sources of resistance, to underestimate the power of informal interest groups and their territorial claims, and to misread the nature of the relationship among various interest groups—particularly relationships among a school system and its community, the state, or the federal government.

It is difficult for administrators to anticipate the different stages that will be encountered; it is also easy to miss subterranean conflicts, to overestimate the need for all concerned to be involved in the change effort, to become overly optimistic about the enthusiasm and excitement of planning, and to fail to anticipate and deal directly with conflicts that surface as plans are put into action.

In sum, administrators' images of how organizations work are always important. But when changes are planned and implemented, the need for accurate and complete images of the organizational setting—and of the change process—becomes critical. With images that capture key elements of the organizational setting, administrators can begin to anticipate many events and issues, devise strategies for dealing with those that can be controlled, and prepare to "ride out" problems and issues that will have to run their course. Without accurate images, administrators will frequently be surprised, will find it difficult to devise responses or strategies, will often do things that make the situation worse, and will themselves experience conflict, tension, and dissatisfaction.

From the experiences of the small districts that participated in the Experimental Schools program, we have distilled an image of educational organizations and of the process of change that may help administrators approach the task of planning and implementing changes with more certainty. By thinking about their own organizational setting or approach to change in different ways, administrators may be able to avoid some of the pitfalls and capitalize on some of the opportunities that were encountered by administrators

who promoted and guided the Experimental Schools projects. Such thinking should begin with several key questions about their image of organizations:

- How do I see the organizational setting I presently administer?
- Does this image allow me to explain important events, anticipate difficulties, and design workable strategies?
- Am I often puzzled and surprised by issues and events?
- How will externally stimulated changes affect the school or district I presently administer?
- Does the organizational image I hold include adequate mechanisms for promoting, guiding, and surviving the proposed changes?
- How do I currently envision the process of identifying, planning, and implementing change?
- What are some of the key activities that need to take place?
- What are some of the problems that might be anticipated?
- How will the process of planning and implementing change affect the organizational status quo?

EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AS FEDERATIONS OF ZONES

From case studies of the Experimental Schools districts, an image of educational organizations becomes apparent. The image is a political one and focuses on groups or coalitions and their relationship to one another, interests and how they are articulated and protected, and conflict—how it arises and is resolved. The image does not explain everything that can or might occur in changing schools, but it helps to explain unanticipated dilemmas and problems that arose as school districts planned and implemented their projects. We believe that it can serve as a useful tool for administrators trying to map their own district or school in order to anticipate issues that will inevitably arise as changes are made.

The Concept of Zones

Educational organizations can be viewed as configurations or federations of four distinct zones. Each zone represents a separate territory or "turf"; each has a distinct culture, carries out its own functions or activities, and has specific interests to protect. Within zones, people often develop beliefs, styles, expectations, and "rhythms" that set them off from members of other zones. The four zones are located in two regions—one internal, the other external.

The internal region of an educational organization (see Figure 3) consists of two zones: an administrative zone and an instructional zone. The *administrative* zone includes several different groups: a school board, a superintendent, and principals—the traditional line officers—as well as such staff administrators as assistant superintendents, coordinators, project directors, special administrators (directors, coordinators, specialists), who are based in the district office or school administrative "suite." The *instructional* zone includes students, teachers, aides, parent volunteers, and specialists, who are based primarily in classrooms.

The internal region of educational organizations (see Figure 4) interacts with an external region, which also consists of two distinct zones. Its local zone is represented by the surrounding community and consists of parents, residents, clubs and associations, familial

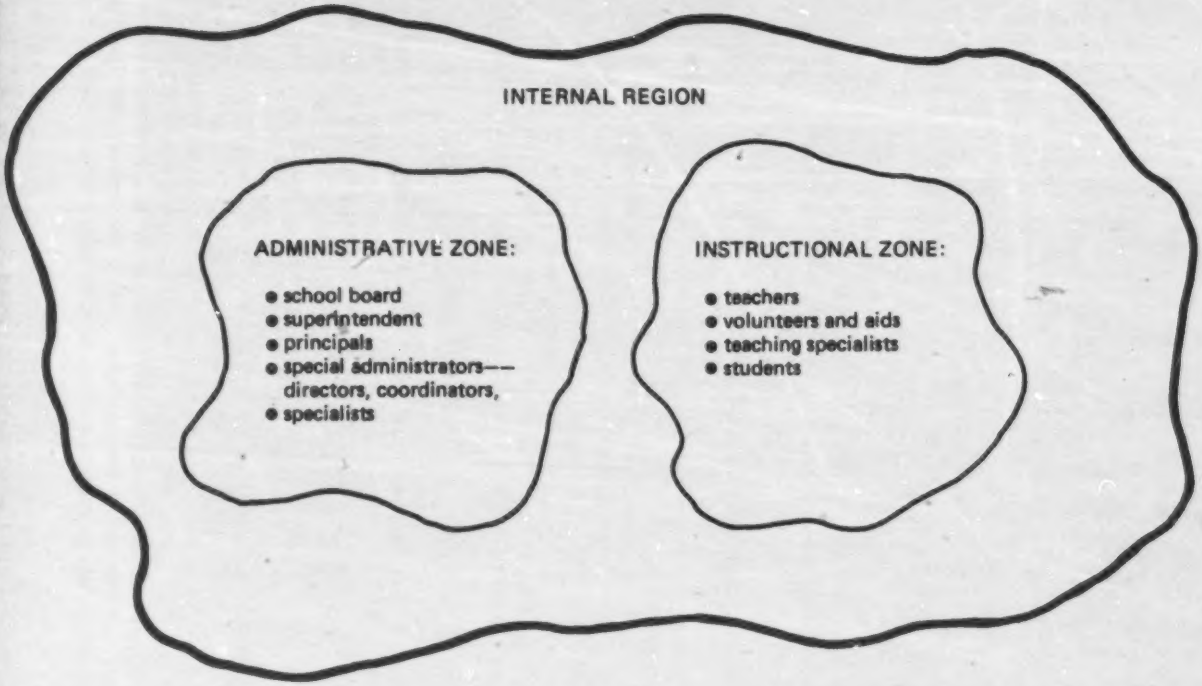


Figure 3. THE INTERNAL REGION OF EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS—ADMINISTRATIVE AND INSTRUCTIONAL ZONES

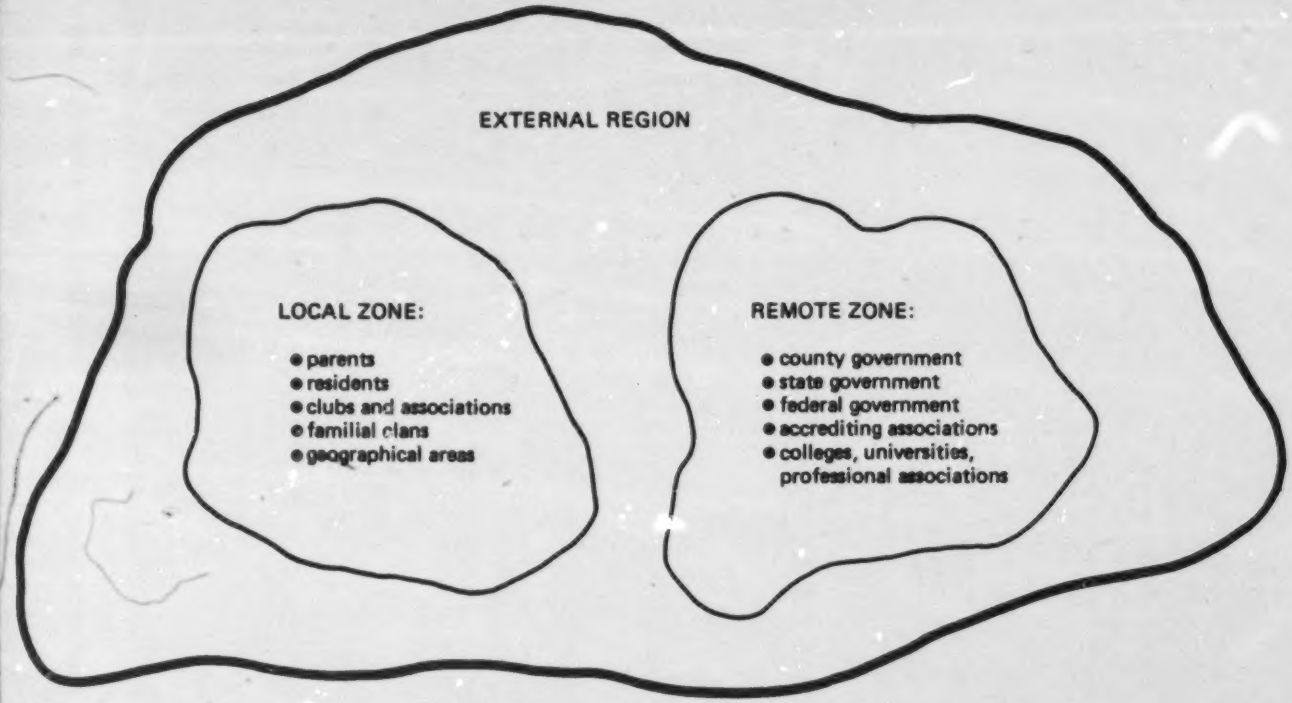


Figure 4. THE EXTERNAL REGION OF EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS— THE LOCAL COMMUNITY AND REMOTE ENVIRONMENT ZONES

clans, and geographical areas. The remote zone includes important constituencies that are further removed: agencies of the state government—courts, State Departments of Education—that develop and enforce regulations because of a legal responsibility for schools or for providing resources; the federal government, which provides resources and regulations in designated areas; accrediting agencies, which judge high school quality; academic communities, which are responsible for training professionals in the instructional and administrative zones (the internal region) and for producing new concepts and ideas.

Intra-Zone Relationships

Within all four zones, certain rights, obligations, and turfs are clear and uncontested. Teachers provide direct instruction to children, while aides and parent volunteers perform clerical tasks and work with children as directed by teachers. Boards make general policies, and superintendents enforce district-wide rules or procedures. Principals are responsible for seeing that individual schools conform to district standards; special administrators—directors, coordinators, and specialists—oversee district-wide spheres of influence such as externally funded projects or special programs for children with learning problems or physical handicaps. Parents send children to schools; community residents together determine the general direction of students' education and provide many of the resources to operate the schools. State agencies make rules and regulations and provide supplemental resources; the federal government provides specialized monetary assistance and guidelines; academic communities provide ideas for new state mandates and federal policies. Thus within zones, relationships among the various role or units can be very clear and unchallenged.

Frequently, however, rights, duties, and obligations within zones are ambiguous and contested. Teachers and aides often clash or remain puzzled over their responsibilities for children in the classroom. Boards and superintendents spend time arguing over differences between policy decisions and administrative regulations. Superintendents and principals struggle over district-wide and school-specific interests. Special administrators and principals grapple with the confusion between the principal's authority over the entire school and the special administrators' authority over the entire school as well as over a particular segment or activity. Within communities, the obligations toward schools are seen differently by community residents, parents, or local clubs. Agencies of state and federal government debate the distinction between providing resources and exercising control.

It should be remembered that, while all districts consists of four zones, relationships within zones may vary greatly from district to district. Administrators can map the zones of their district (or school) by raising some key questions.

- Are the general internal and external zones suggested by this perspective observable in my district?
- How clear are the boundaries?
- How cohesive are individual zones?
- In what areas within zones are rights, obligations, and duties clear and uncontested?
- Are rights, obligations, and duties within a zone ambiguous and contested?
- Are there frequent conflicts between principals and special administrators, between teachers and aides, between residents and parents, or between the state and federal government over jurisdiction or obligations?

Relationships Between Zones

Although the zones of educational organizations are distinct—within both the internal and external regions—they also overlap and are interrelated. Within a particular district, the overlaps and relationships among zones may vary considerably (see Figure 5). In some districts, the overlaps between any two zones may be minimal (District A). In other districts, the overlaps may be extensive but contested (District B), but they also may be extensive and stable (District C) where, for example, both teachers and administrators, accept the fact that principals observe classrooms regularly and make evaluative comments about teaching approaches.

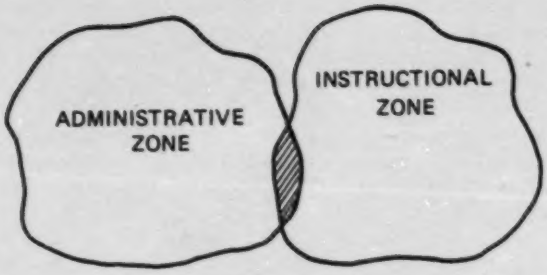
Relationships between zones are complicated because they involve transactions across turf boundaries. Cross-zone relationships are governed by explicit and implicit agreements concerning both obligations and constraints. Administrators, for example, are often obligated to provide teachers with resources and to protect them from direct proessures from parents and the local community, but they are usually constrained from directly watching or controlling teaching activities—except for the annual (or semi-annual) classroom visitation and evaluation conference.

Implicit agreements between administrators and teachers permit teachers wide latitude within the classroom as long as discipline is maintained and teaching practices stay within certain limits of tolerance often interpreted as meaning no complaints from parents. Administrators are expected to provide local communities with attractive, well-maintained school facilities, well-disciplined student populations, sources of community pride (such as championship athletic teams, prize-winning bands, award-winning students), community services such as adult education classes, and opportunities for participation and discourse.

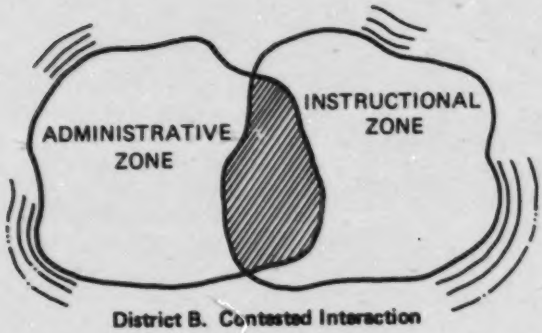
Administrators are constrained from changing curriculum topics, "meddling" in local politics, altering dramatically the relationships between participants in the teaching zone, and usurping the prereogatives of parents by offering courses in sex education or operating an innovative educational program that costs more than the community is likely to be able to support on a continuing basis.

Implicit agreements between the administrative and local community zones provide administrators with a professional "license" that gives administrators considerable latitude to run the schools as they see fit—as long as obligations are met and constraints are observed. But where administrators do not run schools that meet obligations (discipline begins to deteriorate, or students "hang around" the local community during school hours) or observe constraints (spending too much money, or adopting textbooks that contain unpopular values), the license will be revoked and local communities will request (or take) a more active role in day-to-day educational operations.

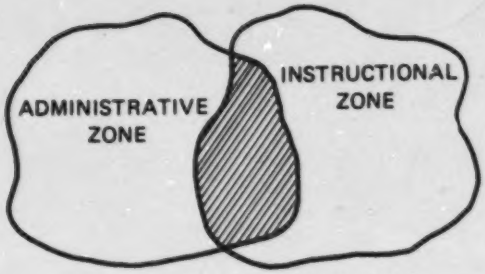
Relationships between the local community and the remote environment often obligate state and federal governments to provide ample funding. At the same time, the remote environment—especially the federal government—is constrained from providing rules and regulations that interfere with the local community or its relationship with the administrative or teaching zones. Implicit agreements exist between the local community and remote environment that federal or state governments will provide funds; in exchange, local communities will enforce certain regulations—as long as such regulations do not impinge severely on local autonomy. State governments are permitted to impose more directly on the local community regarding regulation and policy.



District A. Limited Interaction



District B. Contested Interaction



District C. Stable Extensive Interaction

Figure 5. THREE EXAMPLES OF INTERZONE INTERACTION

Although relationships between the administrative and other zones are probably the most active and direct, relationships also exist between the local community and the instructional zone, between the instructional and administrative zones, and between the local community and the remote environment. Implicit or explicit contracts outline obligations and constraints that shape the transactions between or among zones.

Relationships between zones are occasionally well-defined and stable. More often, however, the relationships are ill-defined or hotly contested. Administrators and teachers struggle to define and readjust the obligations and constraints of an existing local contract. Local communities and administrators debate their respective duties and obligations. Teachers occasionally form coalitions with the local community to readjust relationships between the instructional and administrative zones. Local communities complain to federal and state governments about restrictive regulations and excessive interference.

Like relationships within zones, relationships among zones can vary a great deal from district to district. In order to map interzone relationships within particular communities, administrators need to ask several questions:

- How close are the relationships between each zone?
- How stable are the relationships between zones within the internal and external regions?
- Are relationships between zones ambiguous or contested?
- What are the specific obligations and constraints between instructional and administrative zones; between the administration and the local community?
- Are existing agreements among the zones implicit or explicit?
- What are existing (and potential) interzone coalitions?

Conflict Within and Between Zones

Conflicts within or between zones can occur for several reasons. (1) *Obligations are not met;* administrators, for example, don't back teachers in disputes with parents. (2) *Constraints are violated;* administrators intrude on teachers by specifying how they should teach, or encroach upon parental prerogatives by offering courses that advocate values that do not parallel those of parents or the local community. (3) *The local community temporarily "revokes" the administrators' professional license* for encroaching on the community's turf. (4) The terms of the contract *obligations or constraints are implicit and not fully understood.* Teachers or administrators do not understand what the local community expects, or they get mixed signals. (5) *New obligations are added, constraints are increased, or implicit agreements fail to provide ample latitude.* Teachers, for example, are asked to attend in-service sessions in addition to their normal working day; parents are excluded from visiting the schools; administrators do not have enough discretion or authority to fulfill important obligations.

When conflict arises between (or within) zones, it can be handled in a number of different ways. (1) *Evasion,* whereby open conflict is avoided, denied, or suppressed; administrators tell the community that discipline is not a problem. (2) *Diplomacy,* whereby the conflict is smoothed over; administrators assure community members and teachers that proposed changes are "best for kids" and will not place extraordinary demands on teachers' time. (3) *Collaboration,* whereby the conflict is confronted and both parties jointly attempt to

resolve it as a mutual problem; administrators and faculty agree that the drop-out rate has increased and plan new programs. (4) *Negotiation*, whereby the conflict is confronted and each party negotiates its interests through bargaining; community members want more discipline, administrators want less, and they compromise on a temporary after-school detention plan. (5) *Coercion*, whereby the conflict is extended to other zones and each party attempts to form coalitions to force its will on the other; teachers, for example, appeal to the local community to constrain the administrators from imposing a uniform instructional procedure.

In conflict involving collaboration or negotiation, arenas are created that bring representatives of the opposing zones together. In such arenas, participants spend time redefining the contract, readjusting boundaries and obligations, reducing ambiguity, revising constraints, framing new salient agreements, and redistributing power.

Administrators seeking to map the interzone (or intrazone) conflict in a local setting need to explore a number of key questions:

- Are there continuing (or potential) conflicts between any of the internal or external zones?
- What is the source of the conflict?
- In what ways is conflict confronted (or avoided) in the community?
- What has resulted from the various approaches?
- How often are coalitions created between zones?
- How frequently are arenas created to resolve conflicts?
- What purposes do such arenas usually serve?

Obviously, change affects relationships within and between the zones of educational organizations. Change can create ambiguity within zones by adding new personnel, redefining roles, or shifting responsibilities. Advisory or steering groups, for example, often do not have a sense of purpose or clarity of jurisdiction; project directors find it difficult to relate to principals and other administrators.

Change can also create ambiguity between zones; for example, do newly hired coordinators act as teachers or administrators? It can alter relationships between zones by redefining constraints. (Students are sent into the local community for work experience; the federal government insists that detailed plans be written and followed so that additional funding can be justified; administrators tell teachers that they must individualize instruction.)

Change within zones is usually less traumatic than change that alters the relationships between zones. Adding aides or volunteers in classrooms, changing the relationships between students and teachers, creating a "leadership" team comprised of the board, the superintendent, a principal, and other administrators or adding a special project administrator are examples of *intra*zone changes. Such changes produce ambiguity, readjust relationships among participants, and create conflict. But, unless the changes alter obligations or constraints governing implicit or explicit relationships between zones, problems and conflicts will likely be confined to that zone.

Change that involves an alteration between or among zones will produce high levels of uncertainty and conflict. Examples of *inter*zone changes include teachers wanting a greater

voice in establishing district or school-wide policy, parents or community people seeking greater influence on the day-to-day operations of districts or schools, administrators advocating specific changes in classroom practices, or federal and state efforts to reform local budgeting or evaluation practices.

In most cases, change efforts involve an intrusion of one zone upon the territory of another (see Figure 6). Such intrusion often produces conflict that must be dealt with in some manner. Often other zones become involved in, or are affected by, the conflict. In some cases, however, interzone changes involve shifts in obligations—administrators reduce support for teachers, or communities vote down levies. In other cases, interzone changes may involve shifts in implicit agreements—administrators increase classroom visits or make public the student achievement scores for individual classrooms; parents insist on seeing evidence that learning is taking place, rather than taking it for granted or relying on faith in the professional "license."

In any event, interzone changes activate a web of interconnected shifts in the obligations and constraints that govern the relationships among the zones. The result is usually conflict, to be dealt with in a variety of ways until new relationships are established.

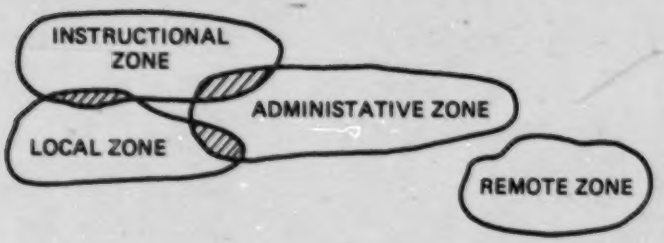
ZONE RELATIONSHIPS AND STAGES OF CHANGE

Change begins with a stimulus—a problem, an opportunity, a mandate, or an individual initiative stemming from boredom, dissatisfaction, or a desire for professional enhancement. Such a stimulus for change can have a specific target within a particular zone or a general target that runs across zones.

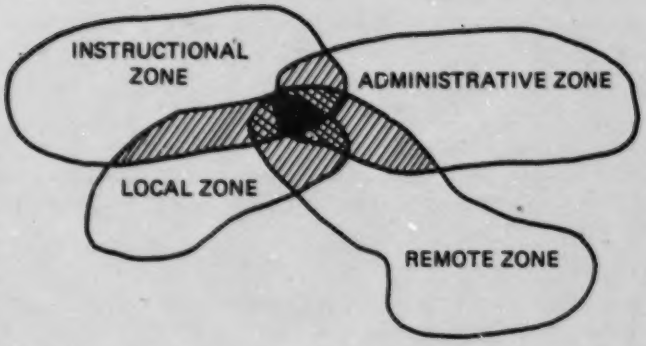
From its origins, a change project will generally proceed through a planning stage in which resources are mobilized and alternatives are generated and selected. Changes within the zones normally involve all key participants in that zone. For intrazone changes that affect boundary conditions, or for changes that run across boundaries, participants from various zones intermingle in the planning process.

Generally, conflicts in planning efforts are handled by evasion or diplomacy. Each zone contributes its special interests to the plan; token agreements are made to protect the various interests. As the plan becomes specific or as it is negotiated with an agency of the federal or state government (usually by representatives from the administrative zone), specific interests of other zones are bargained away and conflicts become more likely.

As plans move from the drawing board into reality—the implementation phase—several things happen. First, conflicts smoothed over or avoided in the planning phase begin to surface. Second, participants who intermingled during the planning phase fail to see their specific interests represented. Third, relationships within and between zones become hazy and uncertain. Fourth, constraints, obligations, and implicit agreements give way to intrusions, unfulfilled expectations, and "treaty" violations. Fifth, conflict becomes rampant within and between zones. Sixth, conflicts initially suppressed and avoided often give way to power plays within and between zones. Seventh, arenas are sometimes created in which conflicts and disagreements are confronted or negotiated. Finally, a new equilibrium is reached. In the normal process of change, however, power plays often result in a return to the status quo, turnover of key personnel, and failure of the change effort to reach its intended target.



A. Before



B. After

Figure 6. ILLUSTRATIVE INTERZONE RELATIONSHIPS BEFORE AND AFTER A COMPREHENSIVE CHANGE EFFORT

In the final stage of the change process—the continuation phase—decisions are made about which changes to continue and which to drop. Just as often, however, the earlier stages of the process have produced unintended consequences that are outside the scope of rational planning. The outcomes of the change effort are often determined by the conflicts and their resolution during the planning and implementation stages. Negotiations within and between zones create new constraints, obligations, and implicit agreements—a new pattern of relationships and alliances.

As the change process proceeds through planning, implementation, and continuation stages, there are transitional phases when the effort is particularly vulnerable. Conflicts and resolution patterns during these transition periods are critical to the eventual outcomes as well.

To summarize, the process of change consists of three distinct but highly interrelated stages: planning, implementation, and continuation. During each stage, conflicts arise within and across the four zones—administrative, instructional, local community, and remote environment. How these conflicts are resolved has an important influence on how the change progresses and where it ends up.

Administrators trying to map the change process in the local situation need to attend to the following questions:

- What is the source and purpose of the change, and what zones may it affect?
- Is the proposed change targeted to a specific zone, or does it involve more than one zone?
- If the change is targeted to a specific zone, are boundary conditions such that other zones will be affected?
- Which zones need to be involved at various stages of the process?
- What are the different interests of representatives from the various zones?
- How are conflicts between interest groups resolved?
- Are various interests represented in the final plan?
- If plans are modified or changed, are key constituencies represented in the negotiations?
- As plans are implemented, where will conflicts arise?
- How will these conflicts be resolved?
- How can arenas be fostered for negotiating conflicts between or within zones?
- How can power plays be avoided?
- What key alliances can be built between zones to protect the intended change?
- How can delicate transition phases be handled?

The Role of the Administrative Zone in Change

In the change process, the administrative zone is often caught in a web of complicated cross-pressures and conflicts. Teachers want their territory protected from intrusions, although elementary and secondary teachers often have very different views of what constitutes territory and intrusion. The local community wants to insure that previous obligations will continue and that implicit agreements will be honored. The remote

environment, often the sponsoring agency, generally wants to see "ideas in good currency" (from the universities or academic institutions) institutionalized in return for resources invested—whether or not these ideas are welcomed by teachers or the local community.

Administrators thus become jugglers trying to balance a series of diverse interests, brokers trying to deal with competing centers of influence and power, negotiators trying to resolve a number of critical conflicts within and between zones, and alliance builders trying to establish support for changes across competing zones. Administrators need to understand both the conflicts that arise during the process of change—where they originate and why—and the pitfalls and opportunities of different strategies for resolving the conflicts. Accurate images of educational organizations can help. Some more specific guidelines are set forth in the final chapter.

RESOURCES FOR FURTHER READING

Deal, Terrence E. and Jean A. Rosaler, *An Organizational Perspective on Planning and Problem Solving in Schools.* Los Angeles: Association of California School Administrators, 1975.

Outlines a structural perspective on educational organizations and suggests some guidelines for planning and problem solving. Useful as an alternative image for viewing change.

Derr, C. Brooklyn, "Conflict Resolution in Organizations: Views from the Field of Educational Administration," *Public Administration Review,* 1972, 32:495-501.

Identifies the most common kinds of organizational conflicts and presents a model for deciding which are important and should be resolved.

Hanson, Mark A. and Michael Brown, "A Contingency View of Problem-Solving in School: A Case Analysis." *Education Administration Quarterly,* Vol. 13, No. 2, 1977.

Outlines two spheres of authority—teacher and administrator—that are involved in decision making in schools. Discusses the problems that arise around decisions that intersect spheres and are therefore contested.

Meyer, John W., "Notes on the Structure of Educational Organizations." Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching, Occasional Paper No. 3, Stanford University, 1975.

Focuses on the rules governing the relationship between school and community. Communities exercise control over topics, roles, and physical characteristics. In other areas, teachers and administrators are given considerable latitude and operate within a "logic of confidence."

Wolcott, Harry W, *Teachers Versus Technocrats.* Eugene, Oregon: Center for Educational Policy and Management, University of Oregon, 1977.

Approaches the study of the implementation of a sophisticated PPBES instructional management system from an anthropological perspective. Identifies two "moieties," or tribal subdivisions in the school subculture, and traces the nature of their interaction during the innovative seven-year history in an Oregon school district.

CHAPTER FOUR

GUIDELINES FOR APPROACHING CHANGE IN SCHOOL DISTRICTS

It is obvious from the case studies of change in ten small school districts that administrators play a big role in changing schools. Administrators often initiate change and play a prominent role in planning; their support, influence, and decisions contribute (directly or indirectly) to efforts that move plans into action. At the same time, administrative strategies occasionally contribute to plans that no one owns, decisions that very few understand, and actions that create distrust, suspicion, and conflict among the various constituencies who participate in the educational system.

While it is clear that administrators contribute to efforts that succeed—and to those that fail—it is misleading to conclude that anyone can single-handedly manage the task of changing schools. Administrators occupy only one zone in a constellation that can become turbulent and volatile whenever changes are on the horizon. Administrators are given the responsibility for guiding change with very little formal control over activities in other zones to speed the process along, cause it to bog down, or help to oust administrators who have intruded too far.

The task of managing change in school districts is exceedingly complex, fragile, and full of pitfalls; administrators who manage to manage are usually skilled, experienced, and lucky. Since it is virtually impossible to compile a list of skills, characteristics, knowledge, and experience that would be widely acknowledged as essential to skillful and successful management of change efforts, we have attempted to highlight some things that may be necessary. We emphasize images or theories used by administrators to analyze complex events, make decisions, and learn from their experiences. Since there are few positive examples in the case studies, we are assuming that, where such images are comprehensive and accurate, the likelihood of effective strategies and appropriate decisions is increased. There is certainly ample evidence in the case studies that the converse is true; that is, that where images were inaccurate, surprises, mistakes, and frustration resulted. In applying the image or theory idea, administrators need:

- to understand how organizations work,
- to understand the process of change, and
- to be familiar with the case studies of other projects that have forged ahead or run aground.

These three needs were addressed in previous chapters, where studies provided a rich source of examples and illustrations, especially of how things can go wrong. The federation of zones provided one image of how educational organizations function. The view of the change process as a series of distinct, yet interrelated, stages provided an idea of how events may proceed.

Administrators of school districts, particularly those currently in the midst of making changes, may find ideas from the first three chapters helpful in several ways: in providing support for current approaches and strategies; in relieving tension by helping to pinpoint why things are not working as well as initially anticipated; in providing solace in the knowledge that other administrators have experienced and survived difficult times; and in offering some general suggestions for how a difficult situation might be re-directed or improved.

While each of these may be an important contribution to an administration's ability to survive, none offers much help in actively promoting or guiding changes. To do so, ideas or images must be applied or used. In this final chapter, we address an additional tool that should be part of an administrator's repertoire—the application of ideas to help focus and act upon the concrete issues and problems that arise inevitably as changes are made in schools. Specifically, how can the idea of zones and the lessons gleaned from the Experimental Schools districts be applied to contemporary issues of change in other settings? The purpose of this chapter is to provide some initial guidelines.

The chapter is organized around three main tasks that administrators will undertake in applying general ideas to a specific setting. First, we provide a format for helping administrators map zones reflecting the conditions in their district or school prior to any response to pressures or opportunities for change. Second, we provide a framework for analyzing an innovation and for anticipating conflicts, realignment, and other problems that may emerge within and between zones as change is attempted. Third, we outline a general strategy for creating arenas where conflicts can be resolved, as well as some specific rules for applying the strategy to the task of planning and implementing changes.

MAPPING THE ZONES IN A LOCAL SETTING

Prior to considering any change in a local district or school, it may be extremely helpful to draw a map of local zones and existing relationships. Knowing the current status of the system is the first step in anticipating the problems that will emerge as changes are planned and carried out. Knowing "thy zones" may assume greater prominence than knowing "thyself" when system-wide changes are involved. A brief checklist can be used as a guide to the construction of a federation of zones map for any locale:

First, who are the important participants within each zone?

Zone Participants

- *Instructional Zone*—Does the instructional zone have only certified teachers or does it include paraprofessionals, volunteers, and teaching specialists? What student groups are distinguishable?
- *Administrative Zone*—Does the administrative zone include administrators outside the traditional line (superintendent or principal) such as specialists, coordinators, directors, or special administrators?
- *Local Community*—What are the key constituencies in the local environment: geographical regions, clubs and associations, familial clans, occupational affiliations, parents, ad hoc groups of residents?
- *Remote Environment*—What are the important agencies in the remote environment: intermediate educational agencies, consortia, accrediting agencies, colleges or universities, regional educational laboratories, or state regulatory bodies? Are the occupants of zones "old-timers" or "new-comers"?

Second, how clear and stable are the internal relationships?

Clarity and Stability Within Zones

- *Boundary Spanners*—Are there key individuals or groups that don't seem to fit in any zone or who run across zones—specialists, community coordinators, steering committees, informal collaborators?

- *Ambiguity*—Are there existing ambiguities as to the responsibilities or duties of individuals or groups in any zone?
- *Cohesion*—How cohesive or divided are the occupants of the different zones?
- *Expectations*—Do various individuals and groups have radically different expectations or ideas?
- *Existing Conflicts*—Are there open or festering disagreements or conflicts among various groups or individuals?

Third, what are the boundary conditions between zones?

Relationships Between Zones

- *Stability*—Have the boundaries changed recently?
- *Overlaps*—Do teaching and administrative zones overlap, i.e., do teachers participate in district decision making, or do administrators carefully monitor classroom teaching? Are there any formal (or informal) overlaps between the teaching and local community zones, i.e., regular parent-teacher conferences, parent volunteers, or teachers who reside in the local community or who are enmeshed in well-knit family networks? How extensive are the overlaps between the administrative and local community zones (steering or ad hoc advisory committees, regular board meetings, regularly scheduled coffees or social events)?
- *Linkages*—How closely tied are teachers and administrators to local colleges or universities? How many state or federal programs does the community operate?
- *Obligations and Constraints*—What are some explicit obligations or constraints governing the relationships among the zones—do administrators visit classrooms regularly, are federal programs actively sought, and welcomed, are administrators required to justify minute expenditures, does the local community require systematic justifications for current or proposed programs? What are some of the implicit obligations or constraints governing the relationships among zones—administrators and teachers are required to live frugally in the local community, championship athletic teams are expected, federal resources are co-opted to fit local priorities?
- *Conflicts*—Where are the stable frontiers among the zones? Where are overlaps or relationships contested? Are there now, or have their recently been, sustained conflicts among or between zones?

Fourth, how are conflicts resolved?

Approaches to Conflict Resolution

- *Arenas*—where are conflicts resolved?
- *Process*—How are they resolved—evasion, diplomacy, problem solving, negotiation, or power? Are conflicts resolved or do they persist and recur? Are conflicts resolved through formal means—such as collective bargaining procedures or through behind-the-scenes negotiations and agreements?

This brief checklist is designed to make concrete and explicit the zones and the important overlaps and relationships in a particular locale. The questions can stimulate thought for a superintendent or principal alone in the office, encourage discussions among an administrative cabinet or advisory group, or be used more extensively to actually construct a visual

depiction with graphic overlays and transparencies. The particular strategy used to map the zones in a district or school should, however, be tailored to the local setting.

ANALYZING PROPOSED CHANGES AND ANTICIPATING PROBLEMS

Mapping the zones provides an up-to-date picture or image of the existing internal and external regions. At the same time, the image is not static. Pressures from various sources suggest, encourage, or mandate change in one or several zones, thereby threatening the equilibrium of the entire system.

One of the more important tasks of administrators is to anticipate how proposed changes will affect existing alignments and relationships within and between zones—where existing obligations and constraints will be affected and where conflict will occur. Assuming that the administrator gets to know the setting intimately through the process of mapping the zones, comparable information is then needed about the nature of the proposed change. In analyzing the change, the administrators should consider the following checklist:

First, where will the change be made?

Target of Change

- *Affected Zones*—Does the pressure for change focus on a particular zone?
- *Focus Within Zones*—What particular practices, procedures processes, or relationships will be modified? Are changes proposed in teaching approaches within the instructional zone? Are decision-making processes affected within the administrative zone? Do the pressures advocate alterations in student disciplinary practices? Does the change involve alterations in the relationship between the local and remote zones?

Second, what problems seem likely to occur within zones?

Anticipated Problems Within Zones

- *Congruence*—How congruent is the proposed change with existing procedures or practices?
- *Displacement*—Does the change displace an existing role, program, or pattern? Or, can the change co-exist alongside current practices or procedures?
- *Ambiguity*—Is the proposed change clearly defined and unambiguous?
- *Skills and Resources*—Are new skills required? Are materials, equipment, and technical assistance readily available? Are changes in time, space, or facilities required? Are excessive or unrealistic amounts of time needed to support changes or deal with problems?
- *Behavioral Change*—Are significant changes in behavior required? Will relationships among zone occupants be affected?
- *Recognition of Need*—Do occupants of an affected zone recognize the change as being necessary? Is there consensus that the change represents a significant improvement over existing patterns?

Third, what issues may arise between zones?

Anticipated Problems Between Zones

- *Constraints and Obligations*—Does the change alter existing relationships between zones? What new obligations are created? Is the change likely to make it difficult to honor old obligations—principals backing teachers, teachers spending time with children? Will fulfilling obligations to one zone undermine obligations to violate constraints in others (e.g., following a plan approved by an external agency puts students in the community or makes it necessary for administrators to monitor classroom instruction closely?)
- *Implicit Agreements*—Are implicit agreements regarding instruction abrogated?
- *Overlaps*—Do overlaps between zones create ambiguity or produce conflicts over turf? Where can conflict among zones be anticipated?

By analyzing proposed change in relation to the existing alignments within and between zones, problems and conflicts can be anticipated and significant surprises avoided.

A GENERAL STRATEGY FOR MANAGING CONFLICTS DURING CHANGE

Mapping the zones and analyzing a proposed change may help an administrator anticipate where problems may arise. But, unless a strategy is developed to manage and resolve conflicts, prior knowledge may do little more than keep an administrator from being caught off guard. And, since even the most thoughtful mapping process cannot foresee many hidden pitfalls, it is important to create opportunities for examining tensions and agreements and negotiating new obligations and constraints to replace old pacts.

Conflicts that arise during change may be managed most effectively by (1) creating arenas (meetings, committees, or other gatherings) where the divergent interests of various zones can collide, (2) by taking steps to ensure that key participants will be actively involved, (3) by surfacing important issues, and (4) by supporting a process where positions can be expressed and debated freely so that new agreements can be reached through active bargaining among participants of relatively equal power. But the process of negotiating conflict is time-consuming and, at least in the short term, risky. Its overall effectiveness can be reduced if appropriate arenas don't exist, if key participants aren't involved (or not connected to their constituences), if key issues are not the focus of attention, or if the process is undermined by power imbalances, norms that discourage open confrontation, or a lack of bargaining skills. For these reasons, only important conflicts should fall within the scope of active negotiation. At the same time, none of the other approaches used by administrators in the ES districts worked, and most increased problems, suspicion, and distrust. By following the general guidelines suggested above, administrators in other settings may be able to manage conflicts accompanying change with fewer costs and greater success.

RULES FOR PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTING CHANGE

Determining a Planning Strategy

The general guidelines for managing conflicts within and between zones during change can be applied to the design of planning strategies. Some illustrations of the rules yielded include:

Rule 1: Narrow the involvement of zones in planning by decentralizing the process. For

many purposes, the school rather than the district is the most logical planning unit. By planning at the school level, the administrative zone is represented primarily by the principal, the instructional zone is limited to teachers from comparable grade levels, and the viewpoints within the local community may not vary as much as they do district-wide. Planning will be more manageable if the process is decentralized.

Rule 2: Create planning arenas to involve representatives from those zones affected directly or indirectly by the pressures that produce the need for change. Include in these arenas divergent viewpoints within and across zones: supporters and opponents, old-timers and newcomers, implementers and stakeholders.

Rule 3: Encourage occupants of various zones to surface needs, problems, and interests—no matter how trivial. A teacher's request for materials, a parent's concern about smoking on campus, or a resident's interest in minimizing educational costs should be aired and accepted early at face value. Power differences between zones—and therefore, unequal participation—should not be allowed to skew the results.

Rule 4: Highlight agreements and disagreements between the zones and *encourage* conflict where disagreement exists. Use a variety of conflict resolution strategies that are appropriate to the levels of trust, distribution of power, scarcity of resources, and preferences and skills of the participants. Evasion and diplomacy are common strategies for managing conflict. Although these strategies often gloss over issues, they can be useful when time is short or emotions are strained. Power strategies risk expanding the conflict outside the planning arena, but are useful in resolving deep ideological disputes or equalizing an imbalance of power or influence. Problem-solving strategies are workable only when high trust, power-parity, and a shared problem exist. Negotiations take time and may result in less than optimal solutions. At the same time, because zones have different interests and turfs, negotiation can often lead to shared meanings, mutual understandings, and realignments of constraints and obligations between zones.

Rule 5: As plans are crystallized, some mechanism must be established to insure that additions or deletions are renegotiated or approved and that important interests are represented. When an agency from the remote zone is involved, negotiations should include key representatives of all affected zones.

Rule 6: Once a plan is developed, attention should shift to anticipating the impact on relationships within and between zones. Where conflicts are anticipated, arenas for their airing should be established or identified in advance.

The planning process should anticipate, surface, and deal as directly as possible with important conflicts within and between the zones. Identifying and resolving all conflicts in advance, however, is impossible. Many conflicts will carry over into the implementation stage, and new issues will arise once plans move into action.

Determinging An Implementation Strategy

As with planning, the general guidelines for managing conflict can be used to suggest rules for implementing change. Illustrations include the following:

Rule 1: Discuss and negotiate with the remote zone the transition from planning to

implementation. One goal of the planning process is to develop a plan that meets a funding agency's criteria (e.g., attracts the resources necessary to make the changes). A second goal is to pave the way for implementing the change. These goals may cause conflict during final negotiations between the remote and administrative zones. To make early stages of implementation smooth, activities must be timed to the tempo of the internal region—not the requirements of the remote zone. If an understanding can be reached in advance with the funding agency that the transision period is crucial, potentially disruptive problems can be avoided.

Rule 2: Expect and look for conflict as an indication of unresolved inter-zone problems that require solutions. The introduction of change in an organization inevitably disrupts the alignment of obligations and constraints that maintain the equilibrium among various zones within and external to the organization. The possibility of conflict is the tipoff to the alert administrator about where zone relationships require attention and where neogtiations or problem solving are required to return the zones to an adjusted equilibrium.

Rule 3: Create arenas where interzone conflict can become explicit and discussable. The division of thechange proposed in the plan into a number of discrete, differentiated components represents a structural feature of the implementation strategy that can lead to a variety of arenas. Each component may become a separate aspect of the change that requires negotiation. Other techniques for creating arenas during implementation include frequent staff meetings, informal discussions with individuals and small groups of teachers, and formal surveys that elicit anonymous responses (provided the resulis of feedback is indeed fed back and discussed with the staff). Almost any organizational event can become an arena for conflict, provided the administrator is alert and sensitive to th possibility.

Rule 4: Employ a negotiation or problem-solving strategy for resolving conflict when conditions permit. Negotiation/problem-solving approaches to conflict are effective for two reasons. First, schools maintain relationships within and between zones through a series of negotiated constraints and obligations that are often tacit and unacknowledged. During implementation, tacit agreements are often violated, and the result is conflict. A negotiation or problem-solving strategy recognizes this and facilitates the renegotiation of tacit agreements (i.e., constraints and obligations) on which the stability of the organization depends. The second is that a negotiation/problem-solving strategy may avoid unintended consequences like those experienced by the ES districts. Denying or smoothing over conflicts or attempting to control them through the use of power often results in expanded conflict and the involvement of other zones, and usually raises additional issues for the administrative zones to resolve.

Rule 5: Seek power-parity by recognizing the interdependence of the instructional and administrative zones. One effective technique for achieving power-parity used by ES districts was a decentralized implementation strategy. Administrators need to recognize that they are perceived by teachers as having much more power than they realize. Occupants of the teaching zone feel extremely vulnerable, particularly when change is occurring and expectations are unclear. Negotiating is an important technique for establishing responsibilities and defining objectives.

Rule 6: Evaluate your negotiation/problem-solving skills and those of your administrative staff and seek training if necessary. Recognition of the need to negotiate and solve problems

is only part of the problem; administrators must be able to produce negotiating and problem-solving behavior. Such skills are not easy to acquire, particularly when administrators have been taught or have learned that strong leadership consists of decisive action (i.e., unilateral action) and that discussions at meetings (i.e., negotiations and problem-solving sessions) are a waste of time. When decisive action is equivalent to forcing others to comply with the administrators' desires, or when meetings are devoted to administrative attempts to "convince" others, the meetings may well be a waste of *that* time. A negotiation/problem-solving strategy consists of identifying the problem areas, recognizing the legitimacy of differing interests and positions, and either bargaining new constraints and obligations or coming to a consensus about them. One reason this strategy may have been observed so seldom in the ten ES districts is that their administrators lacked the skills necessary to implement these strategies.

RESOURCES FOR FURTHER READING

Schmuck, Richard, Phillip Runkel, Irene H. Arends, and Richard I. Arends, *The Second Handbook of Organizational Development in Schools.* Palo Alto: Mayfield Publishing Co., 1977.

A rich compilation of readings, exercises, and strategies from the field of Organizational Development. All sections of the book provide helpful suggestions and concrete guidelines for dealing with problems of changing schools. Chapter 5, "Working with Conflicts," is particularly relevant.

Taylor, Beverly Loy, Ellen Wohl Sullivan, and Bruce Dollar, *Mapping Teacher Corps Projects: A Planning and Resource Book.* New York: Center for Policy Research, 1978.

APPENDIX A*: DESCRIPTIONS OF THE TEN EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS DISTRICTS**

Salmon Point. Salmon Point (located on an island in southern Alaska), is the smallest and the most isolated of the ten districts. Salmon Point has no paved roads and is served by charter flights, daily amphibious flights, and a weekly boat service. The population in 1970 was 300 people, of whom 50% were Indians. Employment is seasonal and uncertain, but a growing lumber industry may bring with it economic and cultural changes.

Teachers in Salmon Point were less experienced (an average of 2.4 years) than teachers in the other districts. The staff had high morale, although Salmon Point later experienced the highest staff turnover of any of the ES districts. Compared to the other ES districts, both the superintendents and teachers were seen as having a great deal of influence in decision making. The school board had a comparatively low amount of influence.

At the time of the Rural ES Announcement, the superintendent had already begun a program of change in the schools and in the Letter of Interest stated his interest in continuing it. In the Letter, the superintendent also spoke of the isolation of the community's children, who grew up unaware of any culture but their own.

Prairie Mills. Prairie Mills is one of the more industrialized rural communities that participated in the ES program. Half the labor force in 1970 was engaged in manufacturing, although farming is still an important industry. Located in southwestern Michigan, the school district was consolidated nine years prior to its participation in the ES program and is located in parts of two counties containing towns and rural areas. Its population was approximately 5,000, and the school district served 1,648 students in five schools with a staff of 92. In 1971-72, when the district applied for ES funding, the total annual budget was $1,260,000, with a per-pupil expenditure of $787. The largest employer in the district was the school system.

Teachers in Prairie Mills had a significantly higher educational level than that of teachers in other districts—but were similar to other districts in age and number of years of teaching experience. Morale in this district was comparatively low, with almost all teachers noting that the inadequacy of appropriate instructional materials and supplies was a major problem. The most important educational goals identified by teachers were that students think for themselves and that students get an education geared to their individual needs. Principal authority was particularly strong.

Shortly before entering the ES program, Prairie Mills students had been administered a battery of tests as part of a state-wide testing program, which showed their self-esteem overall to be low. The theme of the Letter of Interest was built on this finding and on the district's desire to develop a program that would pay particular attention to students who were not experiencing success.

Big Sky. Big Sky has the largest geographical area and one of the most scattered populations of the ES rural districts. Consolidated from five school districts the year of its entry into the ES program, Big Sky comprises an area the size of the state of Connecticut; it is located in southcentral Wyoming and contains eight towns. Sheep and cattle ranching and mineral extraction are major industries, and some tension exists between "ranchers" in the southern part of the district and "miners" in the north. Residents are united, however, in mistrust of the federal government and of easterners in general. The population in 1970 was slightly over 4,000 but was rapidly growing due to expansion in its coal-mining industries. There are twelve schools, and a staff of 129 was serving 1,294 pupils. At the time ES began, the school budget was $1,696,666 and the expenditure per pupil was $1,329.

In the Letter of Interest, which was written primarily by the assistant superintendent, the theme was one of using ES as catalyst for unity: the program was seen as an opportunity for five previously autonomous school districts to work together to overcome the problems caused by geographic dispersion and low population density.

*These site-by-site descriptions have been adapted from Rosenblum and Louis (1978).

**In consideration of the privacy of the school districts involved, pseudonyms have been used.

Clayville Clayville, which is located 90 miles from Louisville in northwest Kentucky, had recently experienced industrial expansion, which caused a 32% growth in population from 1960 to 1970. Previously an agricultural area, the employment pattern became one divided between farming and manufacturing. The economy continued to expand slightly during the ES years.

The Clayville School system underwent consolidation 14 years prior to the ES project. The population in 1970 was just over 7,000. 1,490 students were enrolled in four schools with a staff of 78 (a fifth school opened the second year of the project). At the time Clayville entered the ES program, the annual school budget was $1,243,000 with a per-pupil expenditure of $739.

Teacher morale was particularly high in Clayville, which experienced the lowest turnover rate of any of the ten districts during the five years of the project. Much of the stimulus for participation in the ES program came from the influx of new workers from more sophisticated communities who came to work in the new industries and who initially found Clayville schools inadequate. Many of these workers chose to live outside the county and were a tax loss to the county schools. It was the industrial consortium, whose interests lay in making Clayville an attractive place for their workers to live, that commissioned a private research organization to carry out an extensive needs assessment of the county school system. The school board subsequently took action by hiring a dynamic new superintendent from outside the district, whom they perceived and who perceived himself as a "go-getter." He promised to build Clayville a school system they would be proud of.

The arrival of the Announcement of the ES program into this milieu was very timely, and the superintendent responded eagerly. Not trusting the local expertise, he secured consultants from a nearby university to help write a Letter of Interest based on the findings of the recently completed needs assessment.

Butte-Angels Camp Butte-Angels Camp consists of two South Dakota communities on the westcentral border of the state. The major source of employment is the local gold mine, and the local economy fluctuates with the price of gold. In 1970 the county had a population of just under 10,000, 2,409 of whom lived in the towns of Butte and Angels Camp.

The school district was consolidated one year prior to the ES project with a staff of 155 serving a student population of 2,217. The 1971-72 school budget was $2,531,900 with a per-pupil expenditure of $1,176. The number of students served puts Butte-Angels Camp at the upper end of the ES districts in size, and there was some feeling on the part of ES/Washington that the district was really "too big" for the rural schools competition. (Butte-Angels Camp did, in fact, apply for the urban program of ES, before the Rural Announcement, and was rejected for being too small.)

The theme used by the superintendent in his Letter of Interest was based on an individualized education technique called diagnostic-prescriptive instruction (d/p). The superintendent was considered by the local staff to be particularly "ambitious," and there had already been some tension between him and the district's teachers, who felt that his pursuit of "improvement" had brought them longer hours and more work without much reward.

Liberty Notch. Liberty Notch is not technically a school district but rather a governance unit (known as a Supervisory Union) of three separate school systems in northern New Hampshire. The superintendent who serves the Union is an administrator whose authority is otherwise extremely limited. At the time of its entry into the ES program, Liberty Notch was classified as an economically depressed area with 23% of the families earning less than $3,000 per year. The primary source of employment is in forestry and forest-related industries. Thirty percent of the population is either foreign-born or born of foreign parents, including a rather large French-Canadian population. The district population was approximately 3,500 in 1970.

A total professional staff of 91 in four schools serve a student population of approximately 1,150, some of

whom come to the schools from neighboring Vermont. Teachers in Liberty Notch have a relatively low educational level: very few hold more than a bachelor's degree.

The Letter of Interest was the work of one principal in one of the school districts involved in the Union and was intended as an application for his own district only. His theme was one of developing a "model school" to serve as a community focal point. Students were to be involved in work-study vocational programs, and education would be made relevant to the learner and to this realities of the environment. A central part of the theme was the use of the school to serve the community by providing psychological services which were, according to the Letter, desperately needed, because of the bleak environment and lack of opportunity for people in their surroundings.

In retrospect, it is evident that, for Liberty Notch, the insistence of ES/Washington that the three school districts become partners in the project and function (as they ordinarily did not) as a single unit, was a problem from the outset. While there was some reluctance to form the partnership, the promise of so much money brought the other two districts of the Union into the program.

Magnolia. Magnolia school district is located in the southeastern corner of Mississippi. The county is about 80% forested and the primary sources of employment are forestry and farming. In 1970 the population was 9,065, approximately 74% white and 26% black.

The school system was integrated without court order in 1970. At the time of the ES competition the district served 1,555 students (of whom one-third were black) in six school buildings with a staff of 119. The annual school budget was $758,000 and the per-pupil expenditure was $672.

A major impetus for Magnolia to enter the ES competition was its recent desegregation, which made visible the disparity of the formerly separate systems. Critical reading deficiencies were found at every grade level, and the poverty of the district made it difficult to obtain appropriate instructional materials. The Letter of Interest was based on a recently completed formal needs assessment that had been conducted by school district personnel with assistance from a university consultant. The Letter acknowledged that the school system was basically disorganized and in need of change in staff, equipment, and teaching materials. The Letter of Interest was composed almost single-handedly by the curriculum director who had the expertise to compose the document but who left the school district shortly thereafter.

Oyster Cove. The two communities that comprise the Oyster Cove district are located in the northwest part of the state of Washington. Logging and related industries are the major source of employment for the approximately 2,000 people in the district.

The second smallest (next to Salmon Point) of the ES districts, the school population in Oyster Cove of 286 students was served by a staff of 27 in two schools. At the time of the ES competition, the annual school budget was $321,000 and the per-pupil expenditure was $1,016.

In Oyster Cove the schools are supported by a combination of property tax revenue and annual special levies. These levies cause periodic scrutiny of the schools and some criticism of their expenditures and quality of education. In 1970-71 a concerned citizens group prevailed upon the school board to request an external evaluation of the system by the state. The Letter of Interest prepared by the superintendent was based on the recommendations made in that evaluation.

As in Liberty Notch, the requirements of the ES program for a K-12 population to be involved in any local project caused a partnership with the neighboring community, which sends its eighth grade graduates to a high school in Oyster Cove but is otherwise autonomous. This temporary partnership was a source of some problems in planning and implementing the project. In 1974, the neighboring community dropped out of the program and Oyster Cove continued alone.

Teachers in Oyster Cove are somewhat younger than in the other districts, and the district experiences a rather high staff turnover rate.

Timber River. Timber River school district is located 250 miles south of Portland, Oregon. Its population of approximately 10,000 is predominantly white, although there are some American Indians. Employment is diverse and includes lumbering, mining, farming, tourism, and business.

The school system at the time of entry into ES contained six schools with a total enrollment of approximately 2,500 students served by a staff of 118. The annual school budget was $2,223,848 with a per-pupil expenditure of $884. In Terms of assessed valuation per pupil, Timber River was the poorest district in its state.

The Letter of Interest portrayed Timber River as a district that had already taken several steps prerequisite to educational change, including needs assessment, staff training, and some curriculum development efforts. The Letter emphasized two basic needs in the district: (1) to improve student performance in the basic skills, particularly reading and language; and (2) to broaden the experience of students by expanding the district's curriculum. The strategy proposed in the Letter to accomplish these goals was a reorganization of the instructional program into a series of five curricular "streams." The key to this reorganization was the "personal development stream," which emphasized the development of the individual student.

Desert Basin. Desert Basin is situated in the southeastern corner of Arizona, 85 miles from Tucson. In 1970, the school district population was approximately 4,500 with a sizeable Mexican-American population. Forth-eigth percent of the country population is involved in white-collar occupations of various types.

The school system had the longest history of being consolidated of any of the ES districts (32 years) and served 1,433 students at the time of the district's entry into the ES program, of whom 26% were Mexican-American. There were three schools located on a single campus, an elementary school, middle school, and high school with a total staff of 78. The 1971-72 budget was $1,233,120 with an average per-pupil expenditure of $886.

The Letter of Interest stated the bi-cultural heritage of the residents to be one of the strengths of Desert Basin, and that elements of cultural diversity should be built into the curriculum of the schools. The major problems of the school system, according to the Letter, were almost all in the area of curriculum, which was said to lack both scope and sequence. The secondary focus of the Letter was on the community: finding ways to draw in community members as a cultural resource (particularly the Mexican-Americans) and also finding ways to make use of the school facilities as a community resource.